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Elizabeth Deans

Book





Frontispiece



W. G. W. 1848

*America trampling on Oppression!*



*Cooper's*

# HISTORIES

OF

GREECE AND ROME,

OF

SOUTH AND NORTH AMERICA.

*Cooper, W. D.*



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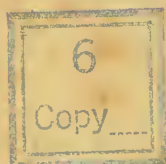
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## PREFACE

BY THE EDITOR.



TO speak particularly of the merits of the little volumes, comprised in this book would be unnecessary. The public have already expressed their opinion of them by the several editions which have been called for.

The English edition, from which this work was copied, is embellished with copperplate cuts; it was thought best here to omit these, excepting the one used for the Frontispiece, to reduce the price of the volume which would otherwise have been considerably augmented. Cuts badly executed, as were those in the American editions of the histories of South and North America, were judged inexpedient.

The author of the work, being an Englishman, will appear, perhaps to some not to have expressed himself, in certain instances, with sufficient respect for the American character and achievements in the late glorious revolution, which terminated in the independence of our country.

But it must be evident to every one, upon the bare inspection of the plate, which is here selected for a Frontispiece, that it would never have been admitted into Mr. Cooper's history of North America, had he entertained sentiments unfriendly to our cause. Nay the cut itself which is the Temple of Liberty, with the portraits of the illustrious Washington and Franklin and the insignia of American greatness and glory displayed in front is calculated, as it must the eye of the youthful reader to excite in his breast patriotic emotions.

The preface of the particular histories have been preserved; and no alterations have been made in any part of the work except of a few typographical errors.

With respect to the execution of the work the present editor and publisher hopes that it will be such as to meet the approbation of his subscribers and of literary institutions for youth by whom an elementary treatise of this kind is much needed. He regrets, that it was not in his power to render this volume more eligible for the purpose than it is by the insertion of the histories of Gaul and England by the same author.

THE EDITOR.

*Plymouth, April, 1808.*

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
GRECIAN STATES.

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CHAP. I.

GREECE, in its earliest infancy, was a combination of little states, each governed by its respective sovereign, yet all uniting for their mutual safety and general advantage. Their intestine contentions, however, were carried on with great animosity ; and, as it happens in all petty states under the dominion of a single commander, the jealousies of the princes were a continual cause of discord. From this distressful situation, those states, by degrees, began to emerge ; a different spirit began to seize the people, and, sick of the contentions of their princes, they desired to be free. A spirit of liberty prevailed all over Greece, and a general change of government was effected in every part of the country, except in Macedonia. Thus monarchy gave way to a republican government, which, however, was diversified into as many various forms as there were different cities, according to the peculiar character of each people.

Though these cities seemed to differ from each other in their laws and interests, yet they were united by one common language, one religion, and a national pride, that taught them even to consider all other nations as barbarous and feeble. Even Egypt itself, from whence they had derived many of their arts and institutions, was considered in a very subordinate light. To make this union among the states of Greece still stronger, there were games instituted in different parts of the country, with rewards for excellence in every pursuit. These sports were instituted for very serious and useful purposes : they afforded an opportunity for the several states meeting together ; they gave them a greater zeal for their common religion ; they exercised the youths for the purposes of war, and encreased that vigour and activity, which were then of the utmost importance in deciding the fate of a battle.

Their chief bond of union, however, arose from the council of the Amphictyons, which was instituted by Amphictyon, king of Athens, about the year 2500, and was appointed to be held twice a year at Thermopylæ, to deliberate for the general good of those states, of whose deputies it was composed. The states who sent deputies to this council, were twelve, namely, the Thessalians, the

Thebans, the Dorians, the Ionians, the Perhaabeans, the Magnesians, the Locrians, the Oetans, the Pthiotes, the Maleans, the Phocians, and the Delopians. Each of these cities, which had a right to assist at the Amphictyonic council, was obliged to send two deputies to every meeting. The one was entitled the Hieromnemon, who took care of the interests of religion; the other was called the Pylagoras, and had in charge the civil interests of his community.

This confederacy united the Greeks for a time into a body of great power and greater emulation. By this association, a country, not half so large as England, was able to dispute the empire of the earth with the most powerful monarchs of the world; by this association, they not only made head against the numerous armies of Persia, but dispersed, routed, and destroyed them, reducing their pride so low, as to make them submit to conditions of peace, as shameful to the conquered, as glorious to the conquerors. But, among all the cities of Greece there were two, which by their merit, their valour, and their wisdom, particularly distinguished themselves from the rest: these were Athens and Lacedæmon. As these cities served for examples of bravery or learning to the rest, and as the chief burthen of every foreign war devolved upon them, we shall proceed to give the reader a general idea of the genius, character, manners, and government, of their respective inhabitants.

Though the kingdom of Lacedæmon was not so considerable as that of Athens, yet, as it was of much earlier institution, it deserves our first attention. Lacedæmon was, for a long time, governed with turbulence and oppression, and required the curb of severe laws and rigorous discipline. These severities and rigorous discipline were at last imposed upon it by Lycurgus, one of the first and most extraordinary legislators that ever appeared among mankind. There is perhaps nothing more remarkable in profane history, yet nothing so well attested, as what relates to the laws and government of Lycurgus. What indeed can be more amazing, than to behold a mutinous and savage race of mankind yielding submission to laws, that controuled every sensual pleasure, and every private affection! To behold them give up for the good of the state, all the comforts and conveniences of private life, and making a state of domestic privacy more severe and terrible, than the most painful campaigns and the most warlike duties! Yet all this was effected by the perseverance and authority of a single legislator, who gave the first lessons of hard resignation in his own generous examples.

Lycurgus was the son of Eunomus, one of the two kings who reigned together in Sparta: During the minority of Charilaus, Lycurgus acted as regent; but resolving to make himself acquainted with all the improvements of other nations, he travelled into Crete, passed over into Asia, and from thence went into Egypt. But while he was thus employed abroad, his presence was greatly wanted at home, where every thing was hastening to anarchy and



ruin. On his return, he found the people wearied out with their own importunities, and ready to receive any new impressions he might attempt. He first communicated his design of altering the whole code of laws to his particular friends, and then by degrees gained over the leading men to his party, until things being ripe for a change, he ordered thirty of the principal men to appear armed in the market place. Charilaus, who was at this time king, at first opposed the revolution, but was soon persuaded to join in the measure.

To continue the kings still with a shadow of power, he confirmed them in their rights of succession as before : but diminished their authority by instituting a senate, which was to serve as a counterpoise between the prerogative and the people. The kings, however, had still all their former marks of outward dignity and respect. The government hitherto had been unsteady, tending at one time towards despotism, at another to democracy ; but the senate instituted by Lycurgus served as a check upon both, and kept the state balanced in tranquillity.

To keep the people in plenty and dependence, seems to have been one of the most refined strokes in this philosopher's legislation. The generality of people were at that time so poor, that they were destitute of every kind of possession, while a small number of individuals were possessed of all the lands and the wealth of the country. In order, therefore, to banish the insolence, the fraud, and the luxury of the one, as well as the misery, the repining, and the factious despair of the other, he persuaded the majority, and forced the rest, to give up all their lands to the commonwealth, and to make a new division of them, that they might all live together in perfect equality. Thus all the sensual goods of life were distributed among the governors and the governed, and superior merit alone conferred superior distinction.

It would, however, have answered no permanent purpose to divide the lands, if the money had been still suffered to accumulate. To prevent, therefore, all other distinctions but that of merit, he resolved to level down all fortune to one standard. He did not, indeed, strip those possessed of gold or silver of their property ; but, what was equivalent, he cried down its value, and suffered nothing but iron money to pass in exchange for every commodity. This coin also he made so heavy, and fixed at so low a rate, that a cart and two oxen were required to carry home a sum equivalent to twenty pounds English, and a whole house was necessary to keep it in. By these means, money was soon brought into disuse, and few troubled themselves with more than was sufficient to supply their necessities. Thus not only riches, but their attendant train of avarice, fraud, rapine, and luxury, were banished from this simple state.

Even these institutions were not thought sufficient to prevent that tendency, which mankind have to private excess. A third regulation was therefore made, commanding that all meals should be in public. He ordained, that all the men should eat in one common

hall without distinction ; and lest strangers should attempt to corrupt his citizens by their example, a law was expressly made against their entrance into the city. By these means, frugality was not only made necessary, but the use of riches was at once abolished. Every man sent monthly his provisions to the common stock, with a little money for other contingent expences.

So rigorous an injunction, which thus cut off all the delicacies and refinements of luxury, was by no means pleasing to the rich, who took every occasion to insult the lawgiver on his new regulations. The tumults it excited were frequent ; and in one of these, a young fellow, whose name was Alexander, struck out one of Lycurgus's eyes ; but he had the majority of the people on his side, who, provoked at the outrage, delivered the young man into his hands to treat him with all proper severity. Lycurgus, instead of testifying any brutal resentment, won over his aggressor by all the arts of ability and tenderness, till at last, from being one of the proudest and most turbulent men of Sparta, he became an example of wisdom and moderation, and an useful assistant to Lycurgus in promoting his new institutions.

Thus undaunted by opposition, and steady in his designs, he went on to make reformation in the manners of his countrymen. As the education of youth was one of the most important objects of a legislator's care, he first instituted, that such children as, upon a public view were deemed deformed or weakly, and unfitted for a future life of vigour and fatigue, should be exposed to perish in a cavern near mount Taygetus. Those infants that were born without any capital defects, were adopted as children of the state, and delivered to their parents to be nursed with severity and hardship. From their tenderest age, they were accustomed to make no choice in their eating, nor to be afraid in the dark, or when left alone ; not to be peevish or fretful, to walk barefoot, to lie hard at nights, to wear the same clothes winter and summer, and to fear nothing from their equals. At the age of seven they were taken from their parents, and delivered over to the classes for their education. Their discipline there was little else than an apprenticeship to hardship, self-denial, and obedience.

All ostentatious learning was banished from this simple commonwealth : their only study was to obey, their only pride was to suffer hardships. There was yearly a custom of whipping them at the altar of Diana, and the boy that bore this punishment with the greatest fortitude came off victorious. Every institution seemed calculated to harden the body, and sharpen the mind for war. In order to prepare them for stratagems and sudden incursions, the boys were permitted to steal from each other ; but if they were caught in the fact, they were punished for their want of dexterity.

At twelve years old, the boys were removed into another class of a more advanced kind. There, in order to crush the seeds of vice which, at that time began to appear, their labour and discipline were encreased with their age. They had now their skirmishes between parties, and their mock fights between larger bod-



ies. In these they often fought with hands, feet, teeth, and nails with such obstinacy, that it was common to see them lose their eyes, and often their lives, before the fray was determined. Such was the constant discipline of their minority, which lasted till the age of thirty, before which they were not permitted to marry, to go into the troops, or to bear any office in the state.

With regard to the virgins, their discipline was equally strict with the former. They were inured to a constant course of labour and industry, until they were twenty years old, before which time they were not allowed to be marriageable.

Valour and generosity seemed the ruling motives of this new institution; arms were their only exercise and employment, and their life was much less austere in the camp than in the city. The Spartans were the only people in the world, to whom the time of war was a time of ease and refreshment; because then the severity of their manners was relaxed, and the men were indulged in greater liberties. With them the first principles of war was never to turn their backs on their enemies, however disproportioned in forces, nor to deliver up their arms until they resigned them with life.

Such was the general purport of the institutions of Lycurgus, which from their tendency gained the esteem and admiration of all the surrounding nations. The Greeks were ever apt to be dazzled rather with splendid than useful virtues, and praised the laws of Lycurgus, which at best were calculated rather to make men warlike than happy, and to substitute insensibility instead of enjoyment.

When Lycurgus had thus completed his military institution, and when the form of government he had established seemed strong and vigorous enough to support itself, his next care was to give it all the permanence in his power. He therefore signified to the people, that something still remained for the completion of his plan, and that he was under the necessity of going to consult the oracle of Delphos for its advice. In the mean time he persuaded them to take an oath, for the strict observance of all his laws until his return, and then departed with a full resolution of never seeing Sparta more. When he was arrived at Delphos, he consulted the oracle, to know whether the laws he had made were sufficient to render the Lacedæmonians happy, and being answered, that nothing was wanting to their perfection, he sent this answer to Sparta, and then voluntarily starved himself to death. Others say he died in Crete, ordering his body to be burnt, and his ashes to be thrown into the sea. The death of this great lawgiver gave a sanction and authority to his laws, which his life was unable to confer. The Spartans regarded his end as the most glorious of all his actions, and a noble finishing of all his former services. They built a temple, and paid divine honours to him after his death; they considered themselves as bound by every tie of gratitude and religion to a strict observance of all his institutions; and the long continuance of the Spartan government is a proof of their persevering resolution.

## CHAP. II.

THE Athenians having, for more than a century, seen the good effects of laws in the regulation of the Spartan commonwealth, about the year 3380, became desirous of being governed by written laws. They pitched upon Draco, a man of acknowledged wisdom and unshaken integrity, but rigid even beyond human sufferance. Draco not succeeding in this business, Solon was applied to for his advice and assistance, as he was the wisest and justest man in all Athens. His great learning had acquired him the reputation of being the first of the seven wise men of Greece, and his known humanity procured him the love and veneration of every rank among his fellow citizens. Solon was a native of Salamais, an island dependent on Athens, but which had revolted to put itself under the power of the Megareans. In attempting to recover this island, the Athenians had spent much blood and treasure, until at last wearied out with such ill success, a law was made, rendering it capital ever to advise the recovery of their lost possession. Solon, however, undertook to persuade them to another trial; and, feigning himself mad, he ran about the streets, using the most violent gestures and language; but the purport of all was, to upbraid the Athenians for their remissness and effeminacy, in giving up their conquests in despair. In short, he acted his part so well, by the oddity of his manners, and the strength of his reasoning, that the people resolved upon another expedition against Salamais; and, by a stratagem of his contrivance, in which he introduced several young men upon the island in women's clothes, the place was surprised, and added to the dominion of Athens.

But this was not the only occasion, on which he exhibited superior address and wisdom. At a time when Greece had carried the arts of eloquence, poetry, and government, higher than they had yet been seen among mankind, Solon was considered as one of the foremost in each profession. The sages of Greece, whose fame is still undiminished, acknowledged his merit, and adopted him as their associate. The correspondence between these wise men was at once instructive, friendly, and sincere. They were seven in number, namely, Thales the Milesian, Solon of Athens, Chilo of Lacedæmon, Pittacus of Mitylene, Periander of Corinth, Bias and Cleobulus, whose birth-places are not ascertained.

These sages often visited each other, and their conversations generally turned upon the methods of instituting the best form of government, or the arts of private happiness. One day, when Solon went to Miletus to see Thales, the first thing he said, was to express his surprise that Thales had never desired to marry, or have children. Thales made no answer then, but a few days after contrived that a stranger, supposed to arrive from Athens, should join their company. Solon, hearing from whence the stranger came, was inquisitive after the news of his own city, but was only

informed, that a young man died there, for whom the whole place was in the greatest affliction, as he was reputed the most promising youth in all Athens, "Alas! (cried Solon) how much is the poor father of the youth to be pitied! Pray, what was his name?" "I heard the name, (replied the stranger, who was instructed for the occasion) but I have forgotten it: I only remember; that all people talked much of his wisdom and justice." Every answer afforded new matter of trouble and terror to the inquisitive father, and he had just strength enough to ask, if the youth was the son of Solon. "The very same," replied the stranger; at which words Solon shewed all the marks of the most inconsolable distress. This was the opportunity which Thales wanted, who took him by the hand, and said to him with a smile, "Comfort yourself, my friend, all that has been told you is a mere fiction, but may serve as a very proper answer to your question, why I never thought proper to marry."

One day, at the court of Periander of Corinth, a question was proposed, "Which was the most perfect popular government?" "That (said Bias) where the laws have no superior." "That (said Thales) where the inhabitants are neither too rich nor too poor." "That (said Anacharsis the Scythian) where virtue is honoured and vice detested." "That (said Pittacus) where dignities are always conferred upon the virtuous, and never upon the base." "That (said Cleobulus) where the citizens fear blame more than punishment." "That (said Chilo) where the laws are more regarded than the orators." But Solon's opinion seems to have the greatest weight, who said, "Where an injury done to the meanest subject is an insult upon the whole constitution."

Upon a certain occasion, when Solon was conversing with Anacharsis, the Scythian philosopher, about his intended reformation in the state, "Alas, (cried the Scythian) all your laws will be found to resemble spiders' webs: the weak and small flies will be caught and entangled, but the great and powerful will always have strength enough to break through."

A matter still more celebrated is Solon's interview with Cræsus, king of Lydia. This monarch, who was reputed the richest of all Asia Minor, was willing to make an ostentatious display of his wealth before the Greek philosopher, and after shewing him immense heaps of treasures, and the greatest variety of other ornaments, he demanded, whether he did not think the possessor of them the most happy of all mankind. "No, (replied Solon) I know one more happy, a poor peasant of Greece, who, neither in affluence nor in poverty, has but few wants, and has learned to supply them by his labour." This answer was by no means agreeable to the vain monarch, who by this question hoped only for a reply that would tend to flatter his pride. Willing, therefore, to extort one still more favourable, he asked, whether, at least, he did not think him happy. "Alas! (cried Solon) what man can be pronounced happy before he dies!" The integrity and the wisdom of Solon's replies appeared in the event. The kingdom of Lydia was



invaded by Cyrus, the empire destroyed, and Cræsus himself was taken prisoner. When he was led out to execution, according to the barbarous manner of the times, he then too late recollected the maxims of Solon, and could not help crying out when on the scaffold upon Solon's name. Cyrus, hearing him repeat the name with great earnestness, was desirous of knowing the reason ; and being informed by Cræsus of that philosopher's remarkable observation, he began to fear for himself, pardoned Cræsus, and took him for the future into confidence and friendship. Thus Solon had the merit of saving one king's life, and of reforming another.

Such was the man, to whom Athens applied for assistance in reforming the severity of their government, and instituting a just body of law. His first attempt was, therefore, in favour of the poor, whose debts he abolished at once, by an express law of insolvency. His next step was to repeal all the laws enacted by Draco, except those against murder. He then proceeded to the regulation of offices, employments, and magistrates, all which he left in the hands of the rich ; and he distributed the rich into three classes, ranging them according to their incomes. The Areopagus, so called from the place where the court was held, had been established some centuries before, but Solon restored and augmented its authority. Nothing was so august as this court, and its reputation for judgment and integrity became so very great, that the Romans sometimes referred causes, which were too intricate for their own decision, to the determination of this tribunal. Nothing was regarded here but truth : that no external objects might pervert justice, the tribunal was held in darkness, and the advocates were denied all attempts to work upon the passions of the judges. Superior to this, Solon instituted the great council of four hundred, who were to judge upon appeals from the Areopagus, and maturely to examine every question before it came to be debated in a general assembly of the people.

He abolished the custom of giving portions in marriage with young women, unless they were only daughters. The bride was to carry no other fortune to her husband than three suits of clothes, and some household goods of little value. It was his aim to prevent making matrimony a traffic : he considered it as an honourable connexion, calculated for the mutual happiness of both parties, and the general advantage of the state.

These were the principal institutions of this celebrated lawgiver, and though neither so striking, nor yet so well authorized as those of Lycurgus, they did not fail to operate for several succeeding ages, and seemed to gather strength by observance. In order to perpetuate his statutes, he engaged the people by a public oath to observe them religiously, at least for a term of an hundred years : and thus, having completed the task assigned him, he withdrew from the city, to avoid the importunity of some, and the captious petulance of others ; for, as he well knew, it was hard if not impossible to please every individual. Solon being now employed on his travels in visiting Egypt, Lydia and several other countries,



left Athens to become habituated to his new institutions, and to try by experience the wisdom of their formation.

While Solon was thus on his travels, civil contentions disturbed Athens, and the spirit of party was hastening every thing to ruin. After ten years' absence, Solon returned to Athens, and found the city involved in slavery. Pisistratus had procured himself a guard formed of his own creatures, who at length seized on the citadel, while none were left, who had sufficient courage or conduct to oppose him.

In this general consternation, which was the result of folly on the one hand, and treachery on the other, the whole city was one scene of tumult and disorder, some flying, others inwardly complaining, others preparing for slavery with patient submission. Solon was the only man, who, without fear or shrinking, deplored the folly of the times, and reproached the Athenians with their cowardice and treachery. "You might with ease (said he) have crushed the tyrant in his bud; but nothing now remains but to pluck him up by the roots. As for myself, I have at least the satisfaction of having discharged my duty to my country and the laws: as for the rest, I have nothing to fear; and now, upon the destruction of my country, my only confidence is in my great age, which gives me the hopes of not being a long survivor." In fact, he did not survive the liberty of his country above two years; he died at Cyprus, in the eightieth year of his age, lamented and admired by every state of Greece. Besides his skill in legislation, Solon was remarkable for several other shining qualities: he was master of eloquence in so high a degree, that from him Cicero dates the origin of oratory in Athens. He was also successful in poetry; and Plato asserts, that it was only for want of due application, that he did not come to dispute the prize with Homer himself.

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### CHAP. III.

FROM the death of Solon, to about the year of the world 3500, Athens continued to be the scene of party cabals, and usurped tyranny; but, about this period, two young citizens began to distinguish themselves at Athens, namely Aristides and Themistocles. These Youths were of very different dispositions; but from this difference resulted the greatest advantages of their country. Themistocles was naturally inclined to a popular government, and omitted nothing that could render him agreeable to the public, or gain him friends. His complaisance was boundless, and his desire to oblige sometimes outstepped the bounds of duty. His partiality was often conspicuous. Aristides was remarkable for his justice and integrity. Being a favourer of aristocracy, in imitation of Lycurgus, he was friendly, but never at the expense of justice.

In seeking honours, he ever declined the interests of his friends, lest they should, in turn, demand his interest when his duty was to be impartial. The love of the public good was the great spring of all his actions, and with that in view no difficulties could daunt, no success or elevation exalt him. On all occasions he preserved his usual calmness of temper, being persuaded, that he was entirely his country's, and very little his own.

At this time, Darius, king of Persia, was turning his arms against Greece, while these illustrious Athenians were inspiring their fellow citizens with a noble confidence in their bravery, and made every preparation for the expected invasion, which prudence and deliberate valour could suggest.

In the mean time, Darius' generals made themselves masters of the islands in the *Ægean* sea, and laid siege to Eretria, which they at last took by storm, owing to the treachery of some of the principal inhabitants. The town was plundered and burnt, and the inhabitants put in chains, and sent as the first fruits of war to the Persian monarch; but he, contrary to their expectations, treated them with great lenity, and gave them a village in the country of Cissa to live in.

This was soon followed by the battle of Marathon, the first great battle the Greeks had ever engaged in. It was not like any of their former contests arising from jealousy, and terminating it in an easy accommodation: it was a battle that was to be decided with the greatest monarch of the earth. This was an engagement that was to decide the liberty of Greece, and, what was of infinitely greater moment, the future progress of refinement among mankind. Upon the event of the battle depended the complexion, which the manners of the West were hereafter to assume, whether they were to adopt Asiatic customs with their conquerors, or to go on in modelling themselves upon Grecian refinements. This therefore may be considered as one of the most important battles that ever was fought, and the event was as little to be expected as the success was glorious.

Miltiades, who was now invested with the supreme command of the Greek army, like an experienced general, endeavoured, by the advantage of his ground, to make up the deficiency in strength and number, his whole army consisting of but ten thousand. He was sensible, that by extending his front to oppose the enemy, he must weaken it too much, and give their dense body the advantage. He therefore drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, so that the enemy should not surround him, or charge him in the rear. On the flanks, on either side, he caused large trees to be thrown, which were cut down for that purpose, and these served to guard him from the Persian cavalry, that generally wheeled on the flank in the heat of the engagement. Datis, the Persian general, was sensible of his advantageous disposition; but relying on his superiority of numbers, and unwilling to wait till Miltiades should receive reinforcements, he determined to engage.

The signal was no sooner given than the Athenians, without waiting the Persian onset, rushed in upon their ranks with desperate rapidity, as if wholly regardless of safety. The Persians considered this first step of the Athenians as the result of madness, and were more inclined to despise them as maniacs, than oppose them as soldiers. However, they were quickly undeceived. It had never been the custom of the Greeks to run on with this headlong valour; but comparing the number of their own forces with that of the enemy and expecting safety only from rashness, they determined to break through the enemy's ranks, or fall in the attempt. The greatness of their danger added to their courage, and despair did the rest. The Persians, however, stood their ground with great intrepidity, and the battle was long, fierce, and obstinate. Miltiades had made the wings of his army exceedingly strong, but had left the main body weaker, and not so deep; for having but ten thousand men to oppose such a numerous army, he supposed the victory could be obtained by no other means than by strengthening his flanks. He doubted not but that, when his wings were once victorious, they would be able to wheel upon the enemy's main body on either side, and then easily rout them. The Persians, therefore, finding the main body weakest, attacked it with their utmost vigour. It was in vain that Aristides and Themistocles, who were stationed in this post of danger, endeavoured to keep their troops to the charge: courage and intrepidity were unable to resist the torrent of encreasing numbers, so that they were at last obliged to give ground. In the mean time the wings were victorious; and now, just as the main body was fainting under the unequal encounter, these came up, and gave them time to recover their strength and order. Thus the scale of victory quickly turned in their favour, the Persians began to give ground in turn, and, being unsupported by fresh forces, they fled to their ships with the utmost precipitation. The confusion and disorder was now universal, the Athenians followed them to the beach, and set many of their ships on fire.

On this occasion it was that Cyndæyrus, the brother of the poet Æschylus, seized with his hand one of the ships that the enemy was pushing off from the shore. The Persians within, seeing themselves thus stopped, cut off his right hand that held the prow; he then laid hold of it with his left, which they also cut off; at last he seized it with his teeth, and in that manner expired.

Seven of the enemy's ships were taken, above six thousand Persians were slain, without reckoning those who were drowned in the sea as they endeavoured to escape, or those who were consumed when the ships were set on fire. Of the Greeks, not above two hundred men were killed, among whom was Callimachus, who gave his vote for bringing on the engagement. The Persian forces before the battle, consisted of six hundred ships, and an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men. Their instructions were to give up Athens to be plundered, to burn all the houses and temples and to lead away all the inhabitants into slavery. The country



was to be laid desolate, and the army was provided with chains and fetters for binding the conquered nations.

Thus ended the famous battle of Marathon, which the Persians were so sure of gaining, that they brought marble into the field, in order to erect a trophy there. This battle was fought in the year of the world 3514:

A part of the army, immediately after the battle marched forward to Athens, to protect it from any attempts the enemy might make, which proved a very prudent measure; for the Persian fleet, instead of sailing directly back to Asia, made an attempt to surprise Athens, before they supposed the Greek troops could arrive from Marathon. The Athenian troops, however, took the precaution to move directly thither, and performed their march with so much expedition, that, though it was forty miles from Marathon, they arrived there in one day. In this manner the Greeks not only expelled their enemies, but confirmed their security. By this victory, the Grecians were taught to know their own strength, and not to tremble before an enemy only terrible in name.

The gratitude of the Athenians to Miltiades spoke a nobleness of mind, that far surpassed expensive triumphs, or base adulation. Sensible that his merits were too great for money to repay, they caused a picture to be painted by Polygnotus, one of their most celebrated artists, in which Miltiades was represented, at the head of the ten commanders, exhorting the soldiers, and setting them an example of their duty. This picture was preserved for many ages, with other paintings of the best masters, in the portico where Zeno afterwards instituted his school of philosophy. Every officer, as well as private soldier, who fell in this battle, had a monument erected to his memory on the plains of Marathon.

Though the gratitude of the Athenians to Miltiades was very sincere, yet it was of no long continuance. This fickle and jealous people, naturally capricious, and now more than ever careful of preserving their freedom, were willing to take every opportunity of mortifying a general, from whose merit they had much to fear. Being appointed, with seventy ships, to punish those islands that had favoured the Persian invasion, he sailed to Paros, and invested that place. Here, having broken his thigh by an accident, he was obliged to raise the siege, and return home. On his arrival at Athens, the whole city began to murmur, and he was accused of having taken a bribe from Persia. As he was not in a condition to answer this charge, being confined to his bed by the wound he received at Paros, the accusation took place against him, and he was condemned to lose his life. However, in consideration of his former services, his sentence was commuted into a penalty of fifty talents, the sum which it had cost the state in fitting out the late unsuccessful expedition. Not being rich enough to pay this sum, he was thrown into prison, where his wound growing worse, from bad air and confinement, it turned at last to a gangrene, and put an end to his life and misfortunes. Thus per-



ished a man, who had been very justly praised for his condescension, moderation and justice. To him Athens was indebted for all its glory, he being the man who first taught her to despise the empty menaces of the boastful Persians. Cimon, his son, who was at this time very young, signalized his piety on this occasion. As this ungrateful city would not permit the body of Miltiades to be buried until all his debts were paid, this young man employed all his interest among his friends, strained his utmost credit to pay the fine, and procured his father an honourable interment.

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#### CHAP. IV.

**DARIUS**, king of Persia, died amidst the preparations he was making for a second expedition into Greece; but he was succeeded by a son, who inherited all his ambition, without any share of his abilities. He was a young man, surrounded by flatterers, and naturally vain and superficial. Having drained all the East to compose his own army, and the West to supply those of the Carthagenians, who were come to his aid, he set out from Suca, in order to enter on this war, ten years after the battle of Marathon, and in the year of the world 3523.

Sardis was the place, where the various nations that were compelled to his banner were to assemble. His fleet was to advance along the coast of Asia Minor towards the Hellespont; but as, in doubling the cape of Mount Athos, many ships were detained, he was resolved to cut a passage through that neck of land, which joined the mount to the continent, and thus gave his shipping a shorter and safer passage. This canal was a mile and a half long, and hollowed out from a high mountain. It required immense labour to perform so great a work; but his numbers and his ambition were sufficient to surmount all difficulties. To urge on the undertaking the faster, he treated his laborers with the greatest severity, while, with all the ostentation of an eastern prince, he gave his commands to the mountains to sink before him: Athos, (said he) thou proud aspiring mountain, that liftest up thy head unto the heavens, be not so audacious as to put obstacles in my way. If thou givest them that opposition, I will cut thee level to the plain, and throw thee headlong into the sea!"

Early in the spring, he directed his march down towards the Hellespont, where his fleet lay in all their pomp, expecting his arrival. Here he was desirous of taking a survey of all his forces, which composed an army that was never equalled either before or since. It was composed of the most powerful nations of the East, and of people scarce known to posterity, except by name. The remotest India contributed its supplies, while the coldest tracts of Scythia sent their assistance. Medes, Persians, Bactrians, Lydians, Assyrians, Hyrcanians, and an hundred other countries of va-

rious complexions, languages, dresses and arms. The land army which he brought out of Asia, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and four score thousand horse. Three hundred thousand more that were added upon crossing the Hellespont, made all his land forces together amount to above two millions of men. His fleet, when it set out from Asia, consisted of twelve hundred and seven vessels, each carrying two hundred men. The Europeans augmented his fleet with an hundred and twenty vessels, each of which carried two hundred men. Besides these, there were a thousand smaller vessels, fitted for carrying provisions and stores. The men contained in these, with the former, amounted to six hundred thousand : so that the whole army might be said to amount to two millions and a half, which, with the women, slaves, and settlers, always accompanying a Persian army, might make the whole above five millions of souls. Such was the state of this proud monarch's forces.

Lord of so many and such various subjects, Xerxes found a pleasure in reviewing his forces ; beholding all the earth covered with his troops, and all the sea crouded with his vessels, he felt a secret joy diffuse itself through his frame, from the consciousness of his own superior power. But all the workings of this monarch's mind were in extreme : a sudden sadness soon took place of his pleasure, and dissolving into a shower of tears, he gave himself up to the reflection, that not one of so many thousands would be alive an hundred years after.

In the mean time Xerxes had given orders for building a bridge of boats across the Hellespont, for the transporting of his army into Europe. This narrow strait, which now goes by the name of the Dardanelles, is near an English mile over. However, soon after the completion of this work, a violent storm arising, the whole was broken and destroyed, and the labour was to be undertaken anew. The fury of Xerxes, upon this disappointment, was attended with equal extravagance and cruelty. His vengeance knew no bounds, the workmen who had undertaken the task, had their heads struck off by his order ; and that the sea also might know its duty, he ordered it to be lashed as a delinquent, and a pair of fetters thrown into it, to curb its future irregularities. Having thus given vent to his absurd resentment, two bridges were ordered to be built in the place of the former, one for the army to pass over, and the other for the baggage and beasts of burden. The workmen, now warned by the fate of their predecessors, undertook to give their labours greater stability : they placed three hundred and sixty vessels across the strait, some of them having three banks of oars, and others fifty oars a-piece. They then cast large anchors on both sides into the water, in order to fix those vessels against the violence of the winds and current. They then drove large piles into the earth, with huge rings fastened to them, to which were tied six vast cables, which went over each of the two bridges.—Over all these they laid trunks of trees, cut purposely for that use, and flat boats over them, fastened and joined together, so as to serve for



a floor, or solid bottom. When the whole work was thus completed, a day was appointed for their passing over; and as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, sweet odours of all kinds were abundantly scattered over the new work, and the way was strewn with myrtle. At the same time, Xerxes, turning his face towards the east, worshipped the sun, which is the god of the Persians. Then, throwing his libations into the sea, together with a golden cup and Persian scymitar, he went forwards and gave orders for the army to follow. This immense train were no less than seven days and seven nights passing over, while those who were appointed to conduct the march, quickened the troops by lashing them along; for the soldiers of the East, at that time, and to this day, are treated like slaves. Thus this immense army having landed in Europe, and being joined by the several European nations that acknowledged the Persian power, Xerxes prepared for marching directly forward into Greece.

He continued his march through Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, every knee bending before him till he came to the straits of Thermopylæ, where he first found an enemy prepared to dispute his passage. This army was a body of Spartans, led on by Leonidas their king, who had been sent thither to oppose him. None of the Grecian states were found bold enough to face this formidable army but Athens and Lacedæmon. One cannot, without astonishment, reflect on the intrepidity of these two states, who determined to face the innumerable army of Xerxes with such disproportioned forces. Their whole army amounted to only eleven thousand two hundred men. Aristides was called from banishment, and placed at the head of their forces.

It was soon resolved to send a body of men to guard the pass at Thermopylæ, where a few would be capable of acting against numbers. Thermopylæ was a narrow pass of twenty five feet broad, between Thessaly and Phocis, defended by the remains of a wall, with gates to it. This place was pitched upon, as well for the narrowness of the way, as for its vicinity to the sea, from whence the land forces could occasionally receive assistance from the fleet. The command of this important pass was given to Leonidas, one of the kings of Sparta, who led thither a body of six thousand men. They were all along taught to look upon themselves as a forlorn hope, only placed there to check the progress of the enemy, and give them a foretaste of the desperate valour of Greece. Even oracles were not wanting to check their ardour; for it had been declared, that to procure the safety of Greece it was necessary that a king, one of the descendants of Hercules should die. This task was cheerfully undertaken by Leonidas; and as he marched out from Lacedæmon he considered himself as a willing victim offered up for the good of his country. However, he joyfully put himself at the head of his little band, took possession of his post, and with deliberate desperation waited at Thermopylæ for the coming up of the Persian army.

In the mean time, Xerxes approached with his numerous army flushed with success, and confident of victory. His camp exhibited all the marks of Eastern magnificence and Asiatic luxury. As he expected to meet no obstructions on his way to Greece, he was surprised to find, that a handful of men would dare to dispute his passage. He waited four days to give the Greeks time to retire ; but they continued their post, amusing themselves in their usual way.— He sent to them to deliver up their arms ; but Leonidas, with a truly Spartan spirit, desired him *to come and take him*. Xerxes offered if they would lay down their arms, to receive them as friends, and to give them a country much larger and better than what they fought for. “No country (they replied) was worth acceptance, unless won by virtue ; and as for their arms, they should want them, whether as his friends or enemies.”

Xerxes, thus treated with contempt, at length ordered a body of Medes to advance, who began the onset, but were repulsed with great loss. The number of the assailants only served to increase their confusion ; and it now began to appear, that Xerxes had many followers, but few soldiers. These forces being routed by the Grecian troops, the Persian immortal band was brought up ; but these were as unsuccessful as the former. Thus did the Greeks keep their ground for two days, and no power on earth seemed capable of removing them from their advantageous situation. The Persians however, by the treachery of a Grecian deserter, got possession of an advantageous post, which commanded the rear of the Spartans.

Leonidas, apprized of his misfortune, and seeing that his post was no longer tenable, advised the troops of his allies to retire, and reserve themselves for better times, and the future safety of Greece. As for himself, and his fellow Spartans, they were obliged by their laws not to fly ; that he owed a life to his country, and that it was now his duty to fall in its defence. Having thus dismissed all but his three hundred Spartans, with some Thesbians and Thebans, in all not a thousand men, he exhorted his followers, in the most cheerful manner, to prepare for death. “Come, my fellow-soldiers, said he, let us dine cheerfully here, for to-night we shall sup with Pluto.” His men upon hearing his determined purpose, set up a loud shout, as if they had been invited to a banquet, and resolved every man to sell his life as dear as he could. The night now began to advance, and this was thought the most glorious opportunity of meeting death in the enemy’s camp. Thus resolved, they made directly to the Persian tents, and, in the darkness of the night, had almost reached the royal pavilion, with hopes of surprising the king. The obscurity added much to the horror of the scene ; and the Persians, falling upon each other without distinction, rather assisted the Grecians than defended themselves. Thus success seemed to crown the rashness of their enterprize, until the morning beginning to dawn, the light discovered the smallness of their numbers. They were then soon surrounded by the Persian forces, who fearing to fall in upon them, flung their javelins from every quarter, till the Greeks, not so much conquered as tired with conquering, fell



amidst heaps of the slaughtered enemy, leaving behind them an example of intrepidity never known before. Leonidas was one of the first that fell, and the endeavours of the Lacedæmonians to defend his dead body were incredible. Of all the train, two only escaped, who were treated with contempt and infamy.

The loss of Xerxes in this battle was said to amount to twenty thousand men, among whom were two of his brothers. Xerxes, therefore, dismayed at an obstinacy that cost him so dear, was for some time more inclined to try his fortune at sea, than to proceed immediately into the country, where he was informed, eight thousand Spartans, such as he had but lately fought with, were ready to receive him. Accordingly, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ, there was an engagement at sea between the two fleets. The Grecian fleet consisted of two hundred and seventy-one vessels: that of the enemy had lately lost four hundred vessels in a shipwreck, but were still greatly superior to the Grecian fleet.

Xerxes, to repair his loss by a victory, ordered two hundred Persian vessels to take a compass, and surprise the Grecians lying in the straits of Eubæa; but the Grecians, being apprised of their designs, set sail by night, and so, by a counter surprise, fell in with them while they were thus separated from the main body, took and sunk thirty, forced the rest to sea, and there, by stress of weather, they were all soon after sunk or stranded. Enraged at these disappointments, the Persians bore down the next day with the whole fleet, and drawing up in form of an half-moon, made an offer of battle, which the Greeks as readily accepted. The Athenians having been reinforced with three and fifty sail, the battle was very obstinate and bloody, and the success pretty near equal on both sides, so that both parties seemed content to retire in good order.

After this, Xerxes, having entered the country of Phocis with his numerous army, plundered and burned every town through which he passed. Having sent off a considerable detachment to plunder the temple at Delphos, with the rest he marched down into Attica, where he found Athens deserted by all but a few in the citadel. These men despairing of succour, and unwilling to survive the loss of their country, would listen to no terms of accommodation: they boldly withstood the first assault, and, warmed by the enthusiasm of religion began to hope for success. However a second assault carried their feeble outworks, they were all put to the sword, and the citadel reduced to ashes.

In the mean time, the confederate Greeks determined in council, that they should prepare to receive the Persians on the isthmus by land, and in the straits of Salamis by sea. Xerxes, after having demolished and burned Athens, marched down towards the sea, to act in conjunction with his fleet, which he had determined should once more come to an engagement with the enemy. The Grecian fleet consisted of three hundred and eighty ships, the Persian fleet was much more numerous; but whatever advantage they had in numbers, and the size of their ships, they fell infinitely short

of the Greeks in their naval skill, and their acquaintance with the seas where they fought.

Themistocles, watching a favourable opportunity, gave the signal for battle, when the Grecian fleet sailed forward, in exact order. Xerxes, imputing his former ill success at sea to his own absence, was resolved to be a witness of the present engagement from the top of a promontory, where he caused a throne to be erected for that purpose. The Persians, therefore, advanced with such courage and impetuosity, as struck the enemy with terror; but their ardor abated when the engagement became closer. The numerous disadvantages of their circumstances then began to appear: the wind blew directly in their faces; the height and heaviness of their vessels made them unwieldy and useless; even the number of their ships, in the narrow seas where they fought, only served to embarrass and increase their confusion. The Ionians first gave way, then the Phœnicians, and Cyprians, when the rest retired in great disorder, and fell foul of each other in their retreat. The Greeks pursued the Persian fleet on every side; some were intercepted at the straits of Attica, many were sunk, and more taken. Above two hundred were burnt, all the rest were dispersed; and the allies, dreading the resentment of the Greeks, as well as of the Persian king, made the best of their way to their own country. Such was the success of the battle of Salamais, in which the Persians received a severer blow than they had ever before experienced from Greece.

Xerxes being heartily tired of this disgraceful business, left his generals to take care of his army, and hastened with a small retinue to the sea-side, which he reached in forty-five days after the battle of Salamais. When he arrived at that place, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the waves, in a tempest that had lately happened. He was, therefore, obliged to pass the strait in a small boat; which manner of returning, being compared with the ostentatious method in which he had set out, rendered his disgrace still more poignant and afflicting. The army, which he had ordered to follow him, having been unprovided with provisions, suffered great hardships by the way. After having consumed all the corn they could find, they were obliged to live upon herbs, and even upon the bark and leaves of trees. Thus harrassed and fatigued, a pestilence began to complete their misery; and, after a fatiguing journey of forty-five days, in which they were pursued rather by vultures and beasts of prey, than by men, they came to the Hellespont, where they crossed over, and marched from thence to Sardis. Such was the end of Xerxes's expedition into Greece: a measure began in pride, and terminated in infamy and disgrace.

## CHAP. V.

THE joy of the Greeks, on the victory of Salamais, was general and loud, and Themistocles was loaded with glory. Mardonius, whom Xerxes had left in Greece with a numerous army, was soon after killed in battle, and all his forces completely routed. Thus ended the invasion of Greece, nor ever after was the Persian army seen to cross the Hellespont.—During these events, Xerxes lay at Sardis, expecting a reversion of his fortune; but messengers coming every hour, loaded with the news of some fatal disaster, and finding himself unable to retrieve his affairs, he retired further into the country, and endeavoured to drown in luxury and riot the uneasy reflections of his unsuccessful ambition. To the want of success abroad was added the contempt of his subjects at home; and this brought on a train of treasons, insurrections, sacrilege, murder, incest and cruelty; so that the latter part of his reign was as scandalous as the first part of it had been unfortunate.

The state of Athens, being thus in a great measure freed from its fears of a foreign enemy, began to cherish intestine animosities, and its citizens laboured with every art to supplant each other in aiming at places of trust and authority. But the conduct of Aristides, in the discharge of his duty on all occasions, confirmed the great opinion mankind had formed of his integrity.

Aristides presided over the treasury with the care of a father over his family, and the caution of a miser over what he holds dearer than his life. No man complained of his administration, and no part of the public money was exhausted in vain. He, who thus contributed to make government rich, was himself poor; and so far was he from being ashamed of poverty, that he considered it as glorious to him as all the victories he had won. Aristides asserted that he only might be said to want, who permitted his appetites to transgress the bounds of his income; and that he, who could dispense with a few things, thus rendered himself more like the gods who want nothing.

Thus he lived, just in his public and independent in his private character. His house was a public school for virtue, and was open to all young Athenians who sought wisdom, or were ambitious of power. He gave them the kindest reception, heard them with patience, instructed them with familiarity, and endeavoured, above all things, to give them a just value for themselves. History does not mention the exact time or place of his death; but it pays the most glorious testimony to his disinterested character, in telling us, that he who had the absolute disposal of all the public treasures died poor. It is even asserted, that he did not leave money enough behind him to pay the expenses of his funeral, but that the government was obliged to bear the charge of it, and to maintain his family. His daughters were married, and his son subsisted



at the expense of the public ; and some of his grandchildren were supported by a pension, equal to that which such received, who had been victorious at the Olympic games. But the greatest honour that his countrymen paid to his memory, was in giving him the title of Just, a character far superior to all the empty titles of wisdom or conquest ; since fortune or accident may confer wisdom or valour, but the virtues of morality are solely of our own making.

About the year of the world 3572, a rupture happened between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians ; and thus the Grecian states, having now no foreign enemy to disturb them, began to harrass and depopulate each other. But a more terrible punishment now began to threaten them from nature ; a plague broke out in the city of Athens, a more terrible one than which is scarcely recorded in the annals of history. It is related, that it began in Ethiopia, from thence descended into Egypt, then travelled into Lybia and Persia, and at last broke out like a flood upon Athens. This pestilence baffled the utmost efforts of art ; the most robust constitutions were unable to withstand its attacks ; no skill could obviate, nor no remedy dispel the terrible infection. The instant a person was seized, he was struck with despair, which quite disabled him from attempting a cure. The humanity of friends was as fatal to themselves, as it was ineffectual to the unhappy sufferers. Most of the inhabitants, for want of lodging, lived in little cottages, in which they could scarce breathe, while the burning heat of the summer increased the pestilential malignity. They were seen confusedly huddled together, the dead as well as the dying ; some crawling through the streets, some lying along by the sides of fountains, whither they had endeavored to repair, to quench the raging thirst that consumed them. Their very temples were filled with dead bodies, and every part of the city exhibited a dreadful scene of mortality, without the least remedy for the present, or the least hopes with regard to futurity. It seized the people with such violence, that they fell one upon another as they passed along the streets. It was also attended with such uncommon pestilential vapours, that the very beasts and birds of prey, though famishing round the walls of the city, would not touch the bodies of those who died of it. Even in those who recovered, it left such a tincture of its malignity, that it struck upon their senses. It effaced the memory of all the passages of their former lives, and they knew neither themselves nor their nearest relations. Such was the effects of this dreadful pestilence ; but of the manner in which it ended, and of the numbers destroyed by it, we have no certain account.

We shall now pass over the particulars of the Peloponnesian war, as they afford only a wretched scene of the citizens of one Grecian state staining their hands with the blood of others ; but we shall be more particular in mentioning the actions and character of those heroes and philosophers, who flourished during that period. Among these, Pericles formed no inconsiderable character. He was descended from the greatest and most illustrious



families of Athens; his father, Xanthippus, defeated the Persians at Mycale, and his mother, Agarista, was niece to Calisthenes, who expelled the tyrants, and established a popular government in Athens. He had early thoughts of rising in the state, and took lessons from Anaxagoras, in the philosophy of nature. He studied politics with great assiduity, but particularly devoted himself to eloquence, which, in a popular state, he considered as the fountain of all promotion. His studies were crowned with success; and the poets, his contemporaries, affirm, that his eloquence was so powerful, that, like thunder, he shook and astonished all Greece. He had the art of uniting force and beauty; there was no resisting the strength of his arguments, or the sweetness of his delivery. Thucydides, his great opponent, was often heard to say, that though he had often overthrown him, the power of his persuasion was such, that the audience could never perceive him fallen.

To this eloquence he added also a thorough insight into human nature, as well as a perfect acquaintance with the disposition of his auditors. It was a constant saying with him to himself "Remember, Pericles, thou art going to speak to men born in the arms of Liberty, and do thou care to flatter them in their ruling passion." He resembled the tyrant Pisistratus, not only in the sweetness of his voice, but the features of his face, and his whole air and manner. To these natural and acquired graces, he added those of fortune; he was very rich, and had an extensive alliance with all the most powerful families of the state.

The death of Aristides and some other favorable circumstances, gave opportunities to his growing ambition: yet he at first concealed his designs with the most cautious reserve, till finding the people encrease in his interest, he set himself at their head, and opposed the principal men of the state with great appearance of disinterested virtue. The chief obstacle of his rise was Cimon, whose candour and liberality had gained him a numerous party of all ranks and denominations. In opposition to him, Pericles called in popular assistance, and by expending the public money in bribes, largesses, and other distributions, he easily gained the multitude to espouse his interests.

Having thus laid a secure foundation in popularity, he next struck at the council of the Areopagus, which was composed of the most respectable persons of all Athens; and, by the assistance of one Ephialtes, another popular champion, he drew away most causes from the cognizance of that court, and brought the whole order into contempt. In this manner, while Cimon was permitted to conduct the war abroad, he managed all the supplies at home; and, as it was his interest to keep Cimon at a distance, he took care to provide him with a sufficiency of foreign employment.

Pericles every day gained new ground, till he at last found himself possessed of the authority of the whole state. It was then that he began to change his behaviour, and from acting the humble and fawning suppliant, he assumed the haughty airs of royalty. He now no longer submitted himself to the caprice of the people,

but changed the democratic state of Athens into a kind of monarchy, without departing, however, from the public good. He would sometimes, indeed, win his fellow-citizens over to his will; but at other times, when he found them obstinate, he would in a manner compel them to consult their own interests.—Thus between power and persuasion, public profusion, and private economy, political falsehoods, and private integrity, Pericles became the principal ruler at Athens, and all such as were his enemies became the enemies of the state.

Fickleness and inconstancy, however, were the prevailing characters of the Athenians; and, as these carried them on to their greatest excesses, they soon brought them back within the bounds of moderation and prudence. Pericles had long been a favourite, but the state having suffered great calamities, he at last came to be obnoxious: they had deposed him from the command of the army; but soon repented of their rashness, and reinstated him, a short time after, with more than former authority.—However, he did not live long to enjoy his honours. He was seized with the plague, which, like a malignant enemy, struck its severest blow at parting. Being extremely ill, and ready to breathe his last, the principal citizens, and such of his friends that had not forsaken him, discoursing concerning the loss they were about to sustain, ran over his exploits, and computed the number of his victories. They did not imagine that Pericles attended to what they said, as he seemed insensible; but it was far otherwise, as not a single word of their discourse had escaped him. At last, cried he, “Why will you extol a series of actions, in which Fortune had the greatest part? There is one circumstance which I would not have forgotten, yet which you have passed over: I could wish to have it remembered, as the most glorious circumstance of my life, that I never yet caused a single citizen to put on mourning.” Thus died Pericles, in whom were united a number of excellent qualities without impairing each other. He was as well skilled in naval affairs as in the conduct of armies; as well skilled in the arts of raising money as of employing it; eloquent in public, and pleasing in private; he was a patron of artists, at once informing them by his taste and example.

Not long after the death of Pericles, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians made peace, and every thing now promised a restoration of former tranquillity; but a new promoter of troubles was now beginning to make his appearance, and from him those who wished for peace had every thing to fear: this was the celebrated Alcibiades, the disciple of Socrates, a youth equally remarkable for the beauty of his person, and the graces of his mental accomplishments.

The strict intimacy between Alcibiades and Socrates is one of the most remarkable circumstances of his life. This philosopher observing excellent natural qualities in him, which were greatly heightened by the beauty of his person, bestowed incredible pains in cultivating so valuable a plant, lest, being neglected, it should wither as it grew, and in the end degenerate. Alcibiades, indeed,



was exposed to numberless dangers : the greatness of his extraction, his vast riches, the authority of his family, the credit of his guardians, his personal talents, and, still more than these, the flattery and complaisance of all who approached him.

Notwithstanding the strong endeavours that were used to divert this young Athenian from a correspondence, which alone was capable of securing him from so many snares, he devoted himself entirely to it. He had the most unbounded wit ; he was fully sensible of Socrates' extraordinary merit, and could not resist the charms of his sweetly insinuating eloquence, which at that time, had a greater ascendant over him than the allurements of pleasure. He was so zealous a disciple of that great master, that he followed him wherever he went, took the utmost delight in his conversation, received his instructions, and even his reprimands, with wonderful docility, and was so moved with his discourses, as even to shed tears, and abhor himself : so weighty was the force of truth in the mouth of Socrates, and in so odious a light did he show the vices, to which Alcibiades began to abandon himself.

Alcibiades, in those moments when he listened to Socrates, differed so much from himself, that he appeared quite another man. However, his headstrong fiery temper, and his natural fondness for pleasure, which was heightened and enflamed by the discourses and advices of young people, soon plunged him into his former irregularities, and tore him as it were from his master, who was obliged to pursue him as a slave who had escaped correction. This vicissitude of flights and returns of virtuous resolutions, and relapses into vice, continued a long time ; but still Socrates was not disgusted with his levity, and always flattered himself with the hopes of bringing him back to his duty. Hence certainly arose the strong mixture of good and evil that always appeared in his conduct, the instructions his master had given him sometimes prevailing, and, at other times, the fire of his passion hurrying him, in a manner, against his own will, into things of a quite opposite nature. Among the various passions that were discovered in him, the strongest and most prevailing was a haughty turn of mind, which would force all things to submit to it, and could not bear a superior, or even an equal.

Alcibiades, with such a cast of mind as we have described, was not born for repose, and had set every engine at work to reverse the treaty lately concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. He was disgusted with the latter, because they directed themselves only to Nicias, of whom they had a very high opinion ; and, on the contrary, seemed to take no manner of notice of him, though his ancestors had enjoyed the rights of hospitality among them.

Having found means to carry his point against the Lacedæmonians, he was declared general, and appointed to command the fleet ; but was soon afterwards disgraced. After having experienced strange vicissitudes of fortune, being sometimes banished or condemned to death by the Athenians, at other times at the head



of their fleets and armies, he at last took shelter at the court of Persia, where the Lacedæmonians found means to persuade that monarch to dispatch him. Alcibiades was then in a small town in Phrygia, where he lived with his concubine Timandra. Those who were sent to kill him, not daring to enter his house, contented themselves with surrounding and setting it on fire. Alcibiades having quitted it through the flames, sword in hand, the barbarians were afraid to stay to come to blows with him, but flying and retreating as he advanced, they poured their darts and arrows upon him from a distance, and he fell dead upon the spot. Timandra took up his body, and having adorned and covered it with the finest robes she had, she made as magnificent a funeral for it as her condition would admit.

Such was the end of Alcibiades, whose great virtues were stifled and suppressed by still greater vices. It is not easy to say, whether his good or bad qualities were most pernicious to his country ; for with the one he deceived, and with the other he oppressed it. In him distinguished valour was united with nobility of blood. He was eloquent, of great ability in affairs, insinuating, and formed for charming all mankind. He loved glory, but indulged at the same time, his inclination for pleasure : nor was he so fond of pleasure, as to neglect his glory for it. He knew how to give into, or abstract himself from, the allurements of luxury, according to the situation of his affairs. Never was there ductility of genius equal to his : he metamorphosed himself with incredible facility, into the most contrary forms, and supported them all with as much ease and grace as if each had been natural to him.

The death of Alcibiades naturally leads us to give the character of his master, one of the greatest philosophers that the world perhaps ever produced, the immortal Socrates. He was the son of an obscure citizen of Athens, and, emerging from the meanness of his birth, he gave astonishing examples of courage, moderation and wisdom. He opposed the power of the thirty tyrants, who had usurped the government of Athens, and spoke loudly against the bigotry and persecution of the times. He possessed unexampled good-nature, and an universal love to mankind. As it was very difficult to correct the aged, and to make people change principles, who revere the errors in which they are grown grey, he devoted his labours principally to the instruction of youth, in order to sow the seeds of virtue in a soil more fit to produce the fruits of it. He had no open school like the rest of the philosophers, nor set times for his lessons. He had no benches prepared, nor even mounted a professor's chair ; he was the philosopher of all times and seasons ; he taught in all places, and upon all occasions ; in walking, conversation at meals, in the army, and in the midst of the camp, in the public assembly of the senate or people. Such was the man, whom a faction in the city had long devoted to destruction : he had been, for many years before his death, the object of their satire and ridicule.

Aristophanes, the comic poet, was engaged to expose him on the stage : he composed a piece called *The Clouds*, wherein he

introduced the philosopher in a basket, uttering the most ridiculous absurdities. This was the first blow struck at him ; but it was not till twenty years afterwards that Melitus appeared in a more formal manner as his accuser, and entered a regular process against him. His accusation consisted of two heads : the first was, that he did not admit the gods acknowledged by the republic, and introduced new divinities ; the second, that he corrupted the youth of Athens ; and concluded with inferring, that sentence of death ought to be passed against him. How far the whole charge affected him is not easy to determine : It is certain, that amid so much zeal and superstition as then reigned in Athens, he never dared openly to oppose the received religion, and was therefore forced to preserve an outward shew of it ; but it is very probable, from the discourses he frequently held with his friends, that in his heart he despised and laughed at their monstrous opinions and ridiculous mysteries, as having no other foundation than the fables of the poets ; and that he had attained to the notion of the one only true God, insomuch that, upon the account both of his belief of the Deity, and the exemplariness of his life, some have thought fit to rank him among the Christian philosophers.

Upon the day assigned, the proceedings commenced in the usual forms, the parties appeared before the judges, and Melitus spoke. The worse his cause, and the less it was provided with proofs, the more occasion he had for address and art to cover its weakness. He omitted nothing that might render Socrates odious ; and instead of reasons, which could not but fail him, he substituted the delusive glitter of a lively and pompous eloquence. Socrates' defence is considered as so great a masterpiece of ancient oratory, that even the narrow limits this work is confined to, will not permit of our passing it over in silence.

“ I am accused (said Socrates) of corrupting the youth, and of instilling dangerous maxims into them, as well in regard to the worship of the gods, as the rules of government. You know, Athenians, that I never made it my profession to teach, nor can envy, however violent against me, reproach me with having sold my instructions. I have an undeniable evidence for me in this respect, which is my poverty. I was always equally ready to communicate my thoughts either to the rich or poor, and to give them entire leisure to question or answer me. My whole employment is to persuade the young and old against too much love for the body, for riches, all other precarious things, of whatsoever nature they be ; and against too little regard for the soul, which ought to be the object of their affection ; for I incessantly urge upon you, that virtue does not proceed from riches, but, on the contrary, riches from virtue ; and that all the other goods of human life, as well public as private, have their source in the same principle.

“ If to speak in this manner be to corrupt youth, I confess, Athenians, that I am guilty, and deserve to be punished. If what I say be not true, it is most easy to convict me of my falsehoods. I see here a great number of my disciples : they have only to appear.



But, perhaps, the reserve and consideration for a master who has instructed them, will prevent them from declaring against me ; at least, their fathers, brothers, and uncles, cannot, as good relations and good citizens, dispense with their not standing forth to demand vengeance against the corrupter of their sons, brothers, and nephews. But these are the persons who take upon them my defence, and interest themselves in the success of my cause.

“ Pass on me what sentence you please, Athenians : but I can neither repent nor change my conduct : I must not abandon or suspend a function, which God himself has imposed on me. If, after having faithfully kept all the posts wherein I was placed by our general at Potidæa, Amphipolis, and Delium, the fear of death should at this time make me abandon that, in which the divine Providence has placed me, by commanding me to pass my life in the study of philosophy, for the instruction of myself and others ; this would be a most criminal desertion indeed, and make me highly worthy of being cited before this tribunal as an impious man, who does not believe the gods. Should you resolve to acquit me, for the future, I should not hesitate to make answer, Athenians, I honour and love you, but I shall choose rather to obey God than you, and to my latest breath shall never renounce my philosophy, nor cease to exhort and reprove you, according to my custom, by telling each of you, when you come in my way. My good friend and citizen of the most famous city in the world for wisdom and valour, are you not ashamed to have no other thoughts than that of amassing wealth, and of acquiring glory, credit, and dignities, whilst you neglect the treasures of prudence, truth, and wisdom, and take no pains in rendering your soul as good and perfect as it is capable of being.

“ I am reproached with abject fear and meanness of spirit, for being so busy in imparting my advice to every one in private and for having avoided to be present in your assemblies to give my counsel to my country. I think I have sufficiently proved my courage and fortitude, both in the field, where I have borne arms with you, and in the senate when I opposed the violence and cruel orders of the thirty tyrants.

“ For the rest, Athenians, if, in the extreme danger I now am, I do not imitate the behaviour of those, who, upon less emergencies, have implored and supplicated their judges with tears, and have brought forth their children, relations, and friends, it is not through pride and obstinacy, or any contempt for you, but solely for your honour, and for that of the whole city. You should know, that there are among our citizens those, who do not regard death as an evil, and who give that name only to injustice and infamy. At my age, and with the reputation, true or false, which I have, would it be consistent for me, after all the lessons I have given upon the contempt of death, to be afraid of it myself, and to belie in my last actions all the principles and sentiments of my past life ?

“ But without speaking of my fame, which I should extremely injure by such a conduct, I do not think it allowable to intreat a



judge, nor to be absolved by supplications. — He ought to be persuaded and convinced. The judge does not sit upon the bench to shew favour, by violating the laws ; but to do justice in conforming to them. He does not swear to discharge with impunity whom he pleases, but to do justice where it is due. We ought not, therefore, to accustom you to perjury, nor you to suffer yourselves to be accustomed to it ; for, in so doing, both the one and the other of us equally injure justice and religion, and both are criminals.

“ Do not, therefore, expect from me, Athenians, that I should have recourse among you to means, which I believe neither honest nor lawful ; especially upon this occasion, wherein I am accused of impiety by Melitus ; for, if I should influence you by my prayers, and thereby induce you to violate your oaths, it would be undeniably evident, that I teach you not to believe in the gods ; and even in defending and justifying myself, I should furnish my adversaries with arms against me, and prove that I believe no divinity. But I am very far from such bad thoughts : I am more convinced of the existence of God than my accusers ; and so convinced, that I abandon myself to God and you, that you may judge of me as you shall deem best for yourselves.”

Socrates pronounced this discourse with a firm and intrepid tone : his air, his action, his visage, expressed nothing of the accused ; he seemed the master of his judges, from the assurance and greatness of his soul with which he spoke, without however losing any thing of the modesty natural to him. But how slight soever the proofs were against him, the faction was powerful enough to find him guilty, and his death was certainly a concerted thing.

By his first sentence, the judges only declared Socrates guilty ; but when, by his answer, he appeared to appeal from their tribunal to that of justice and posterity ; when, instead of confessing himself guilty, he demanded rewards and honour from the state, the judges were so very much offended, that they condemned him to drink hemlock, a method of execution in use among them.

Socrates received this sentence with the utmost composure. Apollodorus, one of his disciples, launching out into bitter invectives, and lamenting that his master should die *innocent* ; “ What, (replied Socrates, with a smile,) would you have me die guilty ? Melitus and Ayntus may kill, but they cannot hurt me.”

After his sentence, he still continued with the same serene and intrepid aspect, with which he had long enforced virtue, and held tyrants in awe. When he entered his prison, which now became the residence of virtue and probity, his friends followed him thither, and continued to visit him during the interval between his condemnation and death, which lasted for thirty days.

The day before the death of Socrates, Crito, his intimate friend, went to him early in the morning to let him know, that it depended only on himself to quit the prison ; that the jailor was gained ; that he would find the doors open, and offered him a safe retreat in Thessaly. Socrates laughed at his proposal, and answered, that

he revered the laws of his country, and resolved to obey them in all things, even in his death.

Socrates employed the last day of his life in entertaining his friends on the great and important subject of death; he explained to them all the arguments for believing the soul to be immortal, and refuted all the objections against it. After he came out of the bath, his children were brought to him, for he had three, two very little, and the other grown up. He spoke to them for some time, gave orders to the women who took care of them, and then dismissed them. Being returned into his chamber, he laid himself down upon his bed.

The keeper of the prison entered at the same instant, and having informed him, that the time for drinking the hemlock was come, which was at sun set, the keeper was so much afflicted with sorrow, that he turned his back and fell a weeping. The fatal cup, however, was at last brought, and Socrates asked what it was necessary for him to do. "Nothing more (replied the officer) than as soon as you have drank off the draught, to walk about till you find your legs grow weary, and afterwards to lie down upon your bed." He took the cup without any emotion, or change in his colour or countenance, and regarding the man with a steady and assured look, "Well, (said he) what say you of this drink: may one make a libation out of it?" Upon being told, there was only enough for one dose, "At least, (continued he) we may say our prayers to the gods, as it is our duty, and implore them to make our exit from this world, and our last stage happy, which is what I most earnestly beg of them." After having spoken these words, he kept silence for some time, and then drank off the whole draught with an amazing tranquillity and serenity of aspect, not to be expressed or conceived.

Till then his friends, with great violence to themselves, had refrained from tears; but after he had drank the potion, they were no longer their own masters, and wept abundantly. Apollodorus, who had been in tears during almost the whole conversation, began then to raise great cries, and to lament with such excessive grief, as pierced the hearts of all that were present. Socrates alone remained unmoved, and even reproved his friends, though with his usual mildness and good nature. "What are you doing? (said he to them) Oh! what is become of your virtue! Was it not for this I sent away the women, that they might not fall into these weaknesses? I have always heard you say, that we ought to die peaceably, and blessing the gods. Be at ease, I beg you, and shew more constancy and resolution." He then obliged them to restrain their tears.

In the mean time he kept walking to and fro; and when he found his legs grow weary, he laid down upon his bed, as he had been directed. The poison then operated more and more. When Socrates found it began to gain upon the heart, uncovering his face, which had been covered, without doubt, to prevent any thing from disturbing him in his last moments, "Crito, (said he) we owe a

cock to Æsculapius: discharge that vow for me, and pray do not forget it." Soon after this he breathed his last. Crito went to his body, and closed his mouth and eyes. Such was the end of Socrates, in the first year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, and in the seventieth of his age.

It was not till some time after the death of this great man, that the people of Athens perceived their mistake, and began to repent of it. Their hatred being satisfied, their prejudices expired, and time having given them an opportunity for reflection, the notorious injustice of the sentence appeared in all its horrors. Nothing was heard throughout the city but discourses in favour of Socrates. The Academy, the Lycæum, private houses, public walks, and market-places, seemed still to re-echo the sound of his loved voice. "Here (said they) he formed our youth, and taught our children to love their country, and to honour their parents. In this place he gave us his admirable lessons, and sometimes made us seasonable reproaches, to engage us more warmly in the pursuit of virtue. Alas! how have we rewarded him for such important services!" Athens was in universal mourning and consternation. The schools were shut up, and all exercises suspended. His accusers were called to account for the innocent blood they had caused to be shed: Melitus was condemned to die, and the rest banished. Plutarch observes, that all those, who had any share in this black calumny were held in such abomination among the citizens, that no one would give them fire, answer them any question, nor go into the same bath with them; and they had the place cleaned where they had bathed, lest they should be polluted by touching it, which drove them into such despair, that many of them killed themselves. The Athenians, not contented with having punished his accusers, caused a statue of brass to be erected to him, of the workmanship of the celebrated Lysippus, who placed it in one of the most conspicuous parts of the city. Their respect and gratitude rose even to a religious veneration: they dedicated a chapel to him, as to a hero and demi-god, which they called the chapel of Socrates.

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## CHAP. VI.

THE Athenians had hitherto taken the lead in the Grecian states; but the Spartans, who had completely conquered them, became their masters, and sunk them into obscurity.

At this period, Agesilaus, who was chosen king of Sparta, was sent into Asia with an army, under pretence of freeing the Grecian cities. He gained a signal victory over the Persian general Tissaphernes, near the river Pactoclus, where he forced the enemy's camp, and found considerable plunder. This success induced the Persian monarch, instead of meeting Agesilaus openly in the field, to subvert his interest among the Grecian states by the power of



bribery ; and indeed this confederacy was now so weakened, its concord and unanimity so totally destroyed, that they were open to every offer. The love of money was now rooted in their affections, and the Spartans were the only people that, for a while, seemed to disdain it ; but the contagion still spreading, even they at last yielded to its allurements, and every man sought private emolument without attending to the good of his country.

The Spartans, however, being freed from the terror of foreign enemies, proceeded to spread terror among the petty states of Greece, whom they compelled to pay obedience to their will. These proceedings of the Spartans, however, gave birth to a powerful confederacy against them ; and, through a succession of engagements, both by sea and land, the Spartans grew every day weaker, and their enemies more daring.

It soon began to appear, that the Thebans, one of the states of Greece, lately oppressed by the Spartans, were growing into power ; and, while Sparta and Athens were weakening each other by mutual contests, this state, which had enjoyed all the emoluments, without any of the expenses of the war, was every day growing more vigorous and independent. The Thebans, who now began to take the lead in the affairs of Greece, were naturally a hardy and robust people, of slow intellects, and strong constitutions. It was a constant maxim with them, to side either with Athens or Sparta in their mutual contests, and which soever they inclined to, they were generally of weight enough to turn the balance. However, they had hitherto made no other use of that weight than to secure themselves ; but the spirit which now appeared among them was first implanted by Pelopidas, their deliverer from the Spartan yoke ; but still further carried to its utmost height by Epaminondas, who now began to figure in the affairs of Greece.

Epaminondas was one of those few exalted characters, who have scarce any vice, and almost every virtue to distinguish them from the rest of mankind. Though in the beginning, possessed of every quality necessary for the service of the state, he chose to lead a private life, employed in the study of philosophy, and shewing an example of the most rigid observance of all its doctrines. Truly a philosopher, and poor out of taste, he despised riches, without affecting any reputation from that contempt ; and, if Justin may be credited, he coveted glory as little as he did money. It was always against his will that commands were conferred upon him ; and he behaved himself, when invested with them, in such a manner as did more honour to dignities, than dignities did to him. Fond of leisure, which he devoted to the study of philosophy, he shunned public employments, and made no interest but to be excluded from them. His moderation concealed him so well that he lived obscure and almost unknown. His merit, however, discovered him at last. He was taken from his solitude by force, to be placed at the head of armies ; and he demonstrated, that philosophy, though generally held in contempt with those who aspire

at the glory of arms, is wonderfully useful in forming heroes ; for it was, in his opinion, a great advance towards conquering an enemy, to know how to conquer ourselves.

Such was the general appointed to command the Theban army, and act in conjunction with Pelopidas. The Thebans, being left out in the general treaty of peace, and thus having the Spartans and Athenians against them, they appeared under the utmost consternation, and all Greece looked upon them as lost and undone. Nothing now remained on both sides but to prepare for action. Epaminondas immediately raised all the troops he could, and began his march : but his army did not amount to six thousand men, while the enemy had above four times that number.

The two armies met at Leuctra, and drew up on a plain. Cleombrotus was upon the right, at the head of a body consisting of Lacedæmonians, in whom he confided most, and whose files were twelve deep, to take the advantage, which his superiority of horse gave him in an open country. Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, was at the head of the allies, who formed the left wing.

Epaminondas, who resolved to charge with his left, which he commanded in person, strengthened it with the choice of his heavy armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep ; the sacred battalion was upon his left, and closed the wing ; the rest of his infantry were posted upon his right, in an oblique line, which, the farther it extended, was the more distant from the enemy. By this uncommon disposition, his design was to cover his flank on the right ; to keep off his right wing, as a kind of reserved body, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakest part of his army. He was assured that, if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, the rest of the army would soon be put to the rout.

The action began with the cavalry. As the Thebans were better mounted, and braver troops than the Lacedæmonian horse, the latter were not long before they were broken, and driven upon the infantry, which they put into some confusion. Epaminondas following his horse close, marched swiftly up to Cleombrotus, and fell upon his phalanx with all the weight of his heavy battalion. The latter, to make a diversion, detached a body of troops, with orders to take Epaminondas in flank, and to surround him. Pelopidas, upon sight of that movement, advanced with incredible speed and boldness, at the head of the sacred battalion, to prevent the enemy's design, and flanked Cleombrotus himself, who, by that sudden and unexpected attack, was put into disorder. The battle was very fierce and obstinate ; and, whilst Cleombrotus could act, the victory continued in suspense, and declared for neither party. But when he fell dead with his wounds, the Thebans, to complete the victory, and the Lacedæmonians, to avoid the shame of abandoning the body of their king, redoubled their efforts, and a great slaughter ensued on both sides. The Spartans fought with so much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off. Animated by so glorious an advantage, they



proposed to return to the charge, which would, perhaps, have proved successful, had the allies seconded their ardour ; but the left wing, seeing the Lacedæmonian phalanx broken, and believing all lost, especially when they heard that the king was dead, took to flight, and drew off the rest of the army. Epaminondas followed them vigourously, and killed a great number in the pursuit. The Thebans remained masters of the field of battle, erected a trophy, and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

The Lacedæmonians had never received such a blow : the most bloody defeat, till then, had scarce ever cost them more than four or five hundred of their citizens ; here they lost four thousand men, of whom one thousand were Lacedæmonians, and four hundred Spartans, out of seven hundred who were in the battle. The Thebans had only three hundred men killed, among whom were four of their citizens.

So great a victory was followed with instantaneous effects : numbers of the Grecian states, who had hitherto remained neuter, now declared in favour of the conquerors, and encreased their army to the amount of 70,000 men. Epaminondas entered Laconia with an army, the twelfth part of which were not Thebans ; and finding a country hitherto untouched by an enemy, he ran through it with fire and sword, destroying and plundering, as far as the river Eurotas.

In the mean time, the Spartans, struck with consternation at their late defeat, applied to the Athenians for succour, who, after some hesitation, determined to assist them with all their forces ; and a slight advantage the Spartans had gained over the Thebans, in which they did not loose a man, gave a promising dawn of success. The war was then carried on with unabating vigour on both sides. The Theban troops were headed by their favourite general Epaminondas ; those of Sparta by Agesilaus, the only man in Greece that was then able to oppose him.

Epaminondas, having failed in an attack upon Sparta, was resolved, before he laid down his command, which was now nearly expiring, to endeavour to affect something that might compensate for his failure. In order to protect Sparta, Agesilaus had withdrawn all the troops from Mantinea ; thither, therefore, Epaminondas resolved to bend his course. Being determined to attack the town, he dispatched a troop of horse to view its situation, and to clear the fields of stragglers ; but just before they had reached Mantinea, an army of six thousand Athenians auxiliaries arrived by sea, who, without taking any refreshment to their men or horses rushed out without the city, and attacked and defeated the Theban horse. In the mean time, Epaminondas was advancing with his whole army, with the enemy close upon his rear. Finding it impossible to accomplish his purpose, before he would be overtaken, he determined to halt and give them battle. He had now got within a short way of the town, which has had the honour of giving its name to the conflict of that day—a conflict, the most splendid and best contested, that ever figured in the history of any country.



The Greeks had never fought among themselves with more numerous armies: the Lacedæmonians consisted of more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; the Thebans, of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The Theban general marched in the same order of battle, in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to lose in disposing of his army, a precious time that cannot be recovered.

He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column upon the hills, with his left wing foremost, as if he did not intend to fight that day. When he was opposite to them, at a quarter of a league's distance, he made the troops halt, and lay down their arms, as if he designed to encamp there. The enemy in effect, were deceived by his stand; and, reckoning no longer upon a battle, they quitted their arms, dispersed themselves about the camp, and suffered that ardour to be extinguished, which a near approach of a battle is accustomed to kindle in the hearts of soldiers.

Epaminondas, however, by suddenly wheeling his troops to the right, having changed his column into a line, and having drawn out the choice troops, whom he had in his march posted in front, made them double their files upon the front of his left wing, to add to its strength, and to put it into a condition to attack in point the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which, by the movement he had made, faced it directly. He ordered the centre and right wing of his army to move very slowly, and to halt before they came up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon troops, of whom he had no great opinion.

He expected to decide the victory by that body of chosen troops, which he commanded in person, and which he had formed into a column to attack the enemy in a wedge-like point. He had persuaded himself, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, in which the enemy's principal force consisted, he should not find it difficult to rout the rest of the army, by charging upon the right and left with his victorious troops. After having disposed his whole army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were strangely surprised when they saw Epaminondas advance to them in his order and resumed their arms, bridled their horses, and made all the haste they could to their ranks.

Whilst Epaminondas marched against the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank, on the left, the best at that time in Greece, entirely composed of Thebans and Thessalians, had orders to attack the enemy's horse. The Theban general, whom nothing escaped, had artfully bestowed bowmen in the intervals of his horse, in order to begin the disorders of the enemy's cavalry, by a previous discharge of a shower of arrows, stones, and javelins upon them. The other army had neglected to take the same precaution: and had been guilty of another fault, not less considerable, in giving as much depth to the squadrons as if they had been a phalanx. By these means, their horse were incable of supporting long the charge of

the Thebans ; and, after having made several ineffectual attacks with great loss, they were obliged to retire behind their infantry.

Epaminondas, in the mean time, with his body of foot, had charged the Lacedæmonian phalanx. The troops fought on both sides with incredible ardour, both the Thebans and Lacedæmonians being resolved to perish, rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They began with fighting their spears ; but these being soon broken in the fury of the combat, they charged each other with sword in hand. The resistance was equally obstinate, and the slaughter was very great on both sides. The troops despising danger, and desiring only to distinguish themselves by the greatness of their actions, chose rather to die in their ranks, than to lose a step of their ground.

The furious slaughter on both sides having continued a great while, without the victory inclining to either, Epaminondas, to force it to declare for him, thought it his duty to make an extraordinary effort in person, without regard to the danger of his own life. He formed, therefore, a troop of the bravest and most determinate about him ; and, putting himself at the head of them, made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, where the battle was most warm, and wounded the Lacedæmonian general with the first javelin he threw. The troops, by his example, having wounded or killed all that stood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedæmonians dismayed by the presence of Epaminondas, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid party, were reduced to give ground. The gross of the Theban troops, animated by their general's example and success, drove back the enemy upon his right and left and made great slaughter of them. But some of the Spartan troops, perceiving that Epaminondas abandoned himself too much to his ardour, suddenly rallied and returning to the fight, charged him with a shower of javelins. Whilst he kept off part of those darts, shunned some of them, fenced off others, and was fighting with the most heroic valour, to assure the victory to his army, a Spartan, named Callicrates, gave him a mortal wound with a javelin in his breast, across his cuirass. The wood of the javelin being broken off, and the iron head continuing in the wound, the torment was unsupportable, and he fell immediately.—The battle begun around him with new fury, the one side using their utmost endeavours to take him alive, and the other to save him.—The Thebans gained their point at last, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight.

After several different movements, and alternate losses and disadvantages, the troops on both sides stood still, and rested upon their arms ; when the trumpets of the two armies, as if by consent, sounded the retreat at the same time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy ; the Thebans, because they had defeated the right wing, and remained masters of the field of battle ; and the Athenians, because they had cut the general's detachment in pieces.—From this point of honour, both sides at first refused to ask leave to bury their dead, which, with the ancients, was confes-

sing their defeat. The Lacedæmonians, however, sent to demand that permission; after which, the rest, had no thoughts, but of paying the last duties to the slain.

In the mean time, Epaminondas had been carried into the camp. The surgeons, after having examined the wound, declared, that he would expire as soon as the head of the dart was drawn out of it. These words gave all that were present the utmost sorrow and affliction, who were inconsolable on seeing so great a man on the point of death. For him, the only concern he expressed was about his arms, and the fate of the battle. When they shewed him his shield, and assured him, that the Thebans had gained the victory, turning towards his friends with a serene and calm air, "All then is well," said he; and soon after, upon drawing the head of the javelin out of his body, he expired in the arms of victory.

As the glory of Thebes rose with Epaminondas, so it fell with him; and he is perhaps, the only instance of one man being able to inspire his country with military glory, and lead it to conquest, without having had a predecessor, or leaving an imitator of his example.

The battle of Mantinea was the greatest that was ever fought by Grecians against Grecians, the whole strength of the country being drawn out, and ranged according to their different interests; and it was fought with an obstinacy equal to the importance of it, which was the fixing the empire of Greece, which must of course have been transferred to the Thebans, upon their victory, if they had not lost the fruits of it by the death of their general, who was the soul of all their counsels and designs. This blasted all their hopes, and put out their sudden blaze of power almost as soon as it was kindled. However, they did not presently give up their pretensions; they were still ranked among the leading states, and made several further struggles; but they were faint and ineffectual, and such as were rather for life and being, than for superiority and dominion. A peace, therefore, was proposed, which was ratified by all the states of Greece except Sparta: the conditions of which were, that every state should maintain what they possessed, and hold it independent of any other power. A state of repose followed this peace, in which the Grecian powers seemed to slacken from their former animosities, and there was little done for several years following.

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## CHAP. VII.

**DURING** these transactions, a power was growing up in Greece, hitherto unobserved, but now too conspicuous and formidable to be overlooked in the general picture: this was that of the Macedonians; a people hitherto obscure, and in a manner barbarous; and who, though warlike and courageous, had never yet presumed



to intermeddle in the affairs of Greece. Now several circumstances concurred to raise them from that obscurity, and to involve them in measures, which, by degrees, wrought a thorough change in the state of Greece.

This state began to make a figure about the beginning of the ninety-sixth Olympiad. Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, who had been the pupil of Epaminondas, was no sooner become king of Macedon, than he began to distinguish himself. He succeeded in every thing he undertook, by the artfulness of his address, and the force of his eloquence, of which he was a great master.—He first gained the affections of his subjects, then trained and exercised them, and reformed their discipline. It was at this time he instituted the famous Macedonian phalanx, which did so much execution. It was an improvement upon the ancient manners of fighting among the Grecians, who generally drew up their foot so close, as to stand the shock of the enemy without being broken. The complete phalanx was thought to contain above sixteen thousand men; but this of Philip's invention is described by Polybius to be an oblong figure, consisting of eight thousand pikemen, sixteen deep, and five hundred in front, the men standing so close together, that the pikes of the fifth rank were extended three feet beyond the line of the front. The rest, whose distance from the front rendered their pikes useless, rested them upon the shoulders of those who stood before them, and so locking them together in file, pressed forward to support and push on the former ranks, whereby the assault was rendered more violent and irresistible.

Philip having, by some means or other, set the Greeks to quarrelling among themselves, thought it his interest to remain neuter in the commotions he had partly occasioned. It was consistent with the ambitious policy of this prince to be intent only upon his own interest, and not to engage in a war, by which he could reap not the least benefit; and to take advantage of a juncture, in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and push his conquests without any apprehensions of opposition. He was also well pleased to see both parties weaken and consume each other, as he should thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards to greater advantage.

Philip, as soon as his son Alexander was born, lost no time in acquainting Aristotle of what had happened. He wrote to that distinguished philosopher, in terms the most polite and flattering; begging of him to come and undertake his education, and to bestow on him those useful lessons of magnanimity and virtue, which every great man ought to possess, and which his numerous avocations rendered impossible to be attempted by him. He added, "I return thanks to the Gods, not so much for having given me a son, as for having given him to me in the age in which Aristotle lives."

Though brevity will not permit us to follow every method Philip took to enslave all Greece, yet we must not omit to mention a circumstance that happened at the siege of Methone, where Philip lost one of his eyes in a very singular manner. Aster of Amphi-

polis had offered his services to Philip, telling him, that he was so excellent a marksman, that he could bring down birds in their most rapid flight. The monarch made this answer: "Well, I will take you into my service, when I make war upon starlings;" which answer stung the archer to the quick. A repartee proves often of fatal consequence to him who makes it. Aster, having thrown himself into the city, let fly an arrow, on which was written, "To Philip's left eye." This carried a most cruel proof that he was a good marksman, for he hit him in the right eye; and Philip sent him back the same arrow, with this inscription, "If Philip takes the city, he will hang up Aster;" and accordingly he was as good as his word. A skilful surgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with so much art and dexterity, that not the least scar remained; and though he could not save his eye, yet he took away the blemish.

The hasty strides Philip was now making towards enslaving all Greece, particularly attracted the attention of Demosthenes, who roused the Athenians from their lethargy of pleasure. This celebrated orator saw, from the beginning, the ambition of Philip, and the power, of which he was possessed to carry him through his designs. This illustrious orator and statesman was born in the last year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad. He was the son of an eminent Athenian citizen, who raised a considerable fortune by the manufacture of arms. At the age of seven years, he lost his father; and, to add to this misfortune, the guardians, to whom he was entrusted, wasted and embezzled a considerable part of his inheritance. Thus oppressed by fraud, and discouraged by a weak and effeminate habit of body, he yet discovered an early ambition to distinguish himself as a popular speaker. His first essay was made against his guardian, by whom he had been so injuriously treated; but the goodness of his cause was here of more service than the abilities of the young orator: for his early attempts were unpromising. He twice afterwards attempted to harangue the people; but he succeeded so badly, that they even hissed him when he went away ashamed, confounded, and quite in despair.

After a length of time, however, after proper instructions, and unwearied application, he appeared again in public, and succeeded so well, that people flocked from all parts of Greece to hear him. From thence he was looked upon as the standard of true eloquence, insomuch that none of his countrymen have been put in comparison with him, nor even among the Romans, any but Cicero. His eloquence was grave and austere, like his temper; masculine and sublime, bold, forcible, and impetuous; abounding with metaphors, apostrophes, and interrogations, which, with his solemn way of invoking and appealing to the gods, the planets, the elements, and the manes of those who fell at Salamais and Marathon, had such a wonderful effect upon his hearers, that they thought him inspired. But Demosthenes could not have made such impressions on them, if his talent of speaking had not been supported by their opinion of his integrity. It was that which added weight and emphasis to every thing he said, and animated the whole; it was that which



chiefly engaged their attention, and determined their councils, when they were convinced he spoke from his heart and had no interest to manage but that of the community. Of this he gave the strongest proof in his zeal against Philip, who said he was of more weight against him than all the fleets and armies of the Athenians, and that he had no enemy but Demosthenes. He was not wanting in his endeavours to corrupt him, as he had done most of the leading men in Greece ; but this great orator withstood all his efforts ; and as it was observed, all the gold in Macedon could not bribe him.

Though Philip's public character was by no means a credit to him, yet the following act of private justice does him honour. A certain soldier in the Macedonian army had, in many instances, distinguished himself by extraordinary acts of valour, and had received many marks of Philip's favour and approbation. On some occasion, he embarked on board a vessel, which was wrecked in a violent storm, he himself cast on the shore helpless and naked, and scarcely with the appearance of life. A Macedonian, whose lands were contiguous to the sea, came opportunely to be witness of his distress, and with all humane and charitable tenderness, flew to the relief of the unhappy stranger. He bore him to his house, laid him on his own bed, revived, cherished, comforted, and for forty days supplied him freely with all the necessaries and conveniences, which his languishing condition could require. The soldier, thus happily rescued from death, was incessant in the warmest expressions of gratitude to his benefactor, assured him of his interest with the king, and of his power and resolution of obtaining for him, from the royal bounty, the noble returns which such extraordinary benevolence had merited. He was now completely recovered, and his kind host supplied him with money to pursue his journey.

Some time after, the soldier presented himself before the king ; he recounted his misfortunes, magnified his services, and, having looked with an eye of envy on the possessions of the man who had preserved his life, was now so abandoned to every sense of gratitude, as to request the king to bestow upon him the house and lands where he had been so kindly and tenderly entertained. Unhappily, Philip, without examination, inconsiderately and precipitately granted his infamous request. The soldier now returned to his preserver, repaid his goodness by driving him from his settlement, and taking immediate possession of all the fruits of his honest industry. The poor man, stung with this instance of unparelled ingratitude and insensibility, boldly determined, instead of submitting to his wrongs, to seek relief ; and, in a letter addressed to Philip, represented his own and the soldier's conduct, in a lively and affecting manner. The king was instantly fired with indignation, and ordered that justice should be done without delay ; that the possessions should be immediately restored to the man, whose charitable offices had been thus horribly repaid ; and, having seized the soldier, caused these words to be branded on his forehead, " The Ungrateful Guest : " a character infamous in every age, and



among all nations; but particularly among the Greeks, who, from the earliest times, were most scrupulously observant of the laws of hospitality.

Philip, having proved unsuccessful in his attacks on the Grecian States, marched against Atheus, king of Scythia, from whom he had received some personal cause of discontent, and took his son Alexander with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he defeated them without any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which consisted not in gold or silver, the use of which the Scythians were not as yet so unhappy as to know, but in cattle, in horses, and in a great number of women and children.

At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Moesia, disputed the pass with him, laying claim to part of the plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle; and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers on each side were killed upon the spot. The king himself was wounded in the thigh, and, with the same thrust, had his horse killed under him. Alexander flew to his father's aid, and, covering him with his shield, killed or put to flight all who attacked him.

The ambition of Philip would not long suffer him to remain inactive. Not daring openly to attack the Athenians, he endeavoured, underhand, to create new disturbances in Greece that he might take such a part in them as would best answer his views; and when the flame should be kindled, his point was to appear rather to be called in as an assistant, than to act as a principal.

However, the mask was soon thrown off: the Thebans and Athenians soon joined their forces, and waited the approach of Philip, who was leading his army to the plain of Chæronea: a name rendered famous by the event of this important contest. Philip's army was formed of thirty-two thousand men, warlike, disciplined, and long enured to the toils and dangers of the field; but this body was composed of different nations and countries, who had each their distinct and separate views and interests. The army of the confederates did not amount to thirty thousand complete, of which the Athenians and Thebans furnished the greater part; the rest was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnesians; but the same motives, and the same zeal, influenced and animated them. All were equally affected by the event, and all equally resolved to conquer, or die in defence of their liberty.

The fatal morning now arrived, which was forever to decide the cause of liberty, and the empire of Greece. Before the rising of the sun, both armies were ranged in order of battle. The Thebans, commanded by Theogenes, a man of but moderate abilities in war, and suspected of corruption, obtained the post of honour on the right wing of the confederate Greeks, with that famous body in the front, called the Sacred Band, formed of generous and warlike youths, connected and endeared to each other by all the noble enthusiasm of love and friendship. The centre was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnesians, and the Athenians composed the

left wing, led by their generals Lysicles and Chares. On the left of the Macedonian army stood Alexander, at the head of a chosen body of noble Macedonians, supported by the famous cavalry of Thessaly. As this prince was then but nineteen years old, his father was careful to curb his youthful impetuosity, and to direct his valour, and for this purpose surrounded him with a number of experienced officers. In the centre were placed those Greeks who had united with Philip, and on whose courage he had the least dependence: while the king himself commanded on the right wing, where his renowned phalanx stood, to oppose the impetuosity, with which the Athenians were well known to begin their onset.

The charge begun on each side with all the courage and violence, which ambition, revenge, the love of glory, and the love of liberty, could excite in the several combatants. Alexander, at the head of the Macedonian nobles, with all the fury of youthful courage, first fell on the Sacred Band of Thebes, which sustained his attack with a bravery and vigour worthy of its former fame. The gallant youths who composed this body, not being timely, or not duly supported by their countrymen, bore up for a while against the torrent of the enemy; till at length oppressed and overpowered by superior numbers, without yielding or turning their backs on their assailants, they sunk down on that ground where they had been originally stationed, each by the side of his darling friend, raising up a bulwark by their bodies against the progress of the enemy. The young Alexander and his forces, in all the enthusiastic ardour of valour, animated by success, pushed on through all the carnage, over all the heaps of slain, and fell furiously on the main body of the Thebans, where they were opposed with obstinate and deliberate courage; and the contest was, for some time, supported with mutual violence.

At the same time, the Athenians, on the right wing, fought with a spirit and intrepidity worthy of the character which they boasted, and of the cause by which they were animated. Many brave efforts were exerted on each side, and success was for some time doubtful; till at length, part of the centre, and the left wing of the Macedonians, except the phalanx, yielded to the impetuous attack of the Athenians, and fled with some precipitation. Happy had it been, on that day for Greece, if the conduct and abilities of the Grecian generals had been equal to the valour of their soldiers; but these brave champions of liberty were led on by the despicable creatures of intrigue and cabal. Transported by the advantage now obtained, the presumptuous Lysicles cried out, "Come on, my gallant countrymen, the victory is ours: let us pursue these cowards, and drive them to Macedon." Thus, instead of improving the happy opportunity, by charging the phalanx in flank, and so breaking that formidable body, the Athenians wildly and precipitately pressed forward, in pursuit of the flying enemy, themselves in all the disorder and tumult of a rout.

Philip saw this fatal error with all the contempt of a skilful general, and the secret exultation arising from the assurance of ap-

proaching victory. He coolly observed to the officers that stood round him, that the Athenians knew not how to conquer. He ordered the phalanx to change its position, and, by a sudden evolution, to gain possession of an adjacent eminence. From thence they marched deliberately down, firm and collected, and fell, with their united force, on the Athenians, now confident of success, and blind to their danger. The shock was irresistible, they were at once overwhelmed, many of them lay crushed by the weight of the enemy, and expiring by their wounds ; while the rest escaped from the dreadful slaughter by a shameful and precipitate flight, bearing down, and hurrying away with them, those troops that had been stationed for their support. Now Demosthenes, that renowned orator and statesman, whose noble sentiments and spirited harangues had raised the courage on this day so eminently excited, betrayed that weakness which has sullied his great character. He alone, of all his countrymen, advanced to the charge cold and dismayed ; and, on the very first appearance of a reverse of fortune, in an agony of terror, turned his back, cast away that shield, which he had adorned with this inscription in golden characters, "To Good Fortune," and appeared the foremost in the general rout. The ridicule and malice of his enemies related, or perhaps invented, another shameful circumstance ; being impeded in his flight by some brambles, his imagination was so possessed by the presence of an enemy, that he loudly cried out for quarter.

While Philip was thus triumphant on his side, Alexander continued the conflict on the other wing, and at length broke the Thebans, in spite of all their acts of valour, who now fled from the field, and were pursued with great carnage. The centre of the confederates was thus totally abandoned to the fury of a victorious enemy. But slaughter enough had been already made ; more than one thousand of the Athenians lay dead on the field of battle, two thousand were made prisoners, and the loss of the Thebans was not inferior. Philip, therefore, determined to conclude his important victory by an act of apparent clemency, which his ambition and policy really dictated. He gave orders that the Greeks should be spared, conscious of his own designs, and still expecting to appear in the field the head and leader of that body, which he had now completely conquered.

This defeat was attributed chiefly to the ill conduct of the generals Lysicles and Chares ; the former whereof the Athenians put to death at the instance of a judge, named Lycurgus, who had great credit and influence with the people, but was a severe judge, and a most bitter accuser. "You, Lysicles, (said he) was general of the army : a thousand citizens were slain, and two thousand taken prisoners ; a trophy has been erected to the dishonour of this city, and all Greece is enslaved. You had the command when all these things happened ; and yet you dare to live, to view the light of the sun, and blush not to appear publickly in the forum : you, Lysicles, who are born the monument of your country's shame !" It does not appear that Chares underwent any kind of persecution



for his share of this action ; though, according to his general character, he deserved it more than his colleague ; he had no talent for command, and was very little different from a common soldier. Timotheus said of him, that, “ instead of being a general, he was fitter to carry the general’s baggage.”

After the battle of Charonea, such orators as opposed Demosthenes, having all risen up in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred on him additional honours.

Philip, however, did not long enjoy the fruits of his conquests in Greece. Pausanius, a young Macedonian nobleman, having received a most shameful insult from Attilus, a relation of Philip’s, he applied to the monarch for redress ; but not being able to obtain it, he resolved on the destruction of Philip. Pausanius chose the morning in which was to be a grand procession, for the execution of his revenge on the prince, who had denied reparation to his injured honour. His design had been for some time premeditated, and now was the dreadful moment of effecting it. As Philip marched on in all his pride and pomp, this young Macedonian slipped through the crowd, and, with a desperate and revengeful resolution, waited his approach in a narrow passage, just at the entrance into the theatre. The king advanced towards him, Pausanius drew his poignard, plunged it into his heart, and the conqueror of Greece, and the terror of Asia, fell prostrate to the ground, and instantly expired.

The murderer flew towards the gates of the city, where there stood horses to favour his escape, which Olympias, Philip’s wife, is said to have prepared. Here it should be observed, that Philip had disgraced Olympias, for her bad and disagreeable temper, and had taken Cleopatra to his bed. The tumult and confusion was such as might be expected from so fatal an event : some of the Macedonians crowded round the fallen king with officious and ineffectual care, while others pursued Pausanius. Among these were Perdiccas, Attalus, and Leonatus, who coming up with him just as he was preparing to remount his horse, from which he had been thrown by his foot tangling in a vine, they fell upon him and dispatched him. His body was immediately hung on a gibbet ; but, in the morning, it appeared crowned with a golden diadem : the only means by which Olympias could express her implacable resentment. In a few days, indeed, she took a further occasion of publishing her triumph and exultation in her husband’s fall, by paying the same funeral honours to Pausanius, which was prepared for Philip : both bodies were burnt on the same pile, and the ashes of both deposited in the same tomb. She is even said to have prevailed on the Macedonians to pay annual honours to Pausanius ; as if she feared, that the share she had taken in the death of Philip should not be sufficiently known to the world. She consecrated to Apollo the dagger, which had been the instrument of the fatal deed, inscribed with the name Myrtalis, the name which she had

borne when their loves first began. Thus died Philip, whose virtues and vices were directed and proportioned to his ambition.

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## CHAP. VIII.

IN the year of the world 3648, and 356 before the birth of Christ, Alexander, the son of Philip, ascended the throne of Macedon, and took possession of a kingdom rendered flourishing and powerful by the policy of the preceding reign. Alexander, upon his accession to the throne, saw himself surrounded with extreme dangers: the barbarous nations, with whom Philip contended during his whole reign, thought this change for their advantage; and, despising the youth and inexperience of the young monarch, resolved to seize this opportunity of regaining their freedom. Nor had he less to fear from the Greeks themselves, who now thought this a convenient opportunity to restore their ancient form of government, revenge their former injuries, and reclaim those rights they had enjoyed for ages. Alexander, however, resolved to prevent their machinations, and to give them no time to complete their confederacies against him. He made all possible haste to check the arms of the barbarians, by marching his troops to the banks of the Danube, which he crossed in one night. He defeated the king of the Triballi in a great battle, made the Getæ fly at his approach, and subdued several other barbarous nations, some by the terror of his name, and others by the force of his arms.

The first object of Alexander's ambition was the conquest of Persia: and he now expected, that he should have leisure and opportunity to prepare for so great an enterprize. He was however, soon called to a new undertaking: for the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmoneans, united against him, hoping by the assistance of Persia, to recover their freedom. Expedition and activity were the characteristics of Alexander. Having heard of the union formed against him by the Grecian States, he crossed over the craggy top of Mount Ossa, to elude the Thessalonians, who had possessed themselves of the defiles lying between Thessaly and Macedon; and moved on with such rapidity, that his appearance in Greece gave the first news of his preparation for war. A great battle was soon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themselves with a bravery and ardour much above their strength; but they were at last surrounded on all sides, the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and the city taken, plundered and destroyed. However, he set at liberty the priests; all such as had a right of hospitality with the Macedonians; the descendants of Pindar, the famous poet, who had done so much to Greece; and such as had opposed the revolt: but all the rest in number about thirty thousand he sold; and upwards of six thousand had been killed in battle.



This dreadful example of severity towards so powerful a city as Thebes, spread the terror of his arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before him. He summoned at Corinth the assemblies of the several states and free cities of Greece, to obtain from them the same supreme command against the Persians, which had been granted to his father a little before his death. No assembly ever debated on a more important subject : it was the western world deliberating upon the ruin of the east, and the method for executing a revenge which had been suspended for more than age. The assembly held at this time gave rise to events, the relation of which will appear astonishing, and almost incredible ; and to revolutions, which contributed to change the disposition of most things in the political world. The deliberations of the assembly were short ; the Spartans were the only people who ventured to remonstrate : though several others were inimical to the interests of the Macedonians ; but they were forced to submit, and Alexander was appointed generalissimo against the Persians.

Having thus far accomplished his wishes, and after having completely settled his affairs in Macedonia, he set out for Asia in the beginning of the spring. His army consisted of little more than thirty thousand foot, and four or five thousand horse ; but they were all brave men, well disciplined, and enured to fatigue. They had made several campaigns under Philip, and were each of them, in case of necessity, capable of commanding. Most of the officers were near three-score years of age, and the common men fifty ; and when they were either assembled, or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a venerable senate. Such was the army that was to decide the fortune, not only of Greece, but of all the eastern world.

When the news of Alexander's landing in Asia, without opposition, was brought to Darius, he testified the utmost contempt for the Macedonian army, and indignation at the presumption of their generals. In a letter which he wrote, he reprehended his audacious insolence, and gave orders to his various governors, in the different parts of his dominions, that, if they took Alexander alive, to whip him with rods, make prisoners of his whole army, and send them as slaves to one of the most deserted parts of his dominions. Thus confiding in the glittering but barbarous multitude he commanded, he disposed of the enemy as already vanquished ; but confidence goes but a short part of the road to success. The great numbers he had gathered only brought unwieldy splendour into the field, and, instead of procuring him security, encreased his embarrassments.

Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy armed infantry, drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry in the wings, and the baggage following in the rear. Being arrived on the banks of the Grannicus, he there found the Persian horse, which were very numerous, on the opposite shore, forming a large front, in order to oppose Alexander, whenever he should attempt



to pass. The two armies continued a long time in sight of each other, on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing; and the latter seemed to be making choice of a place proper for landing.

At last Alexander ordered his horse to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him and behave gallantly. He himself commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king first caused a strong detachment to march into the river, himself following it with the rest of the forces. He made Parmenio advance afterwards with the left wing, the trumpet sounding, and the whole army raising cries of joy. The Persians, seeing this detachment advance forward, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not so great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. But now the horse engaged with great fury, one part endeavouring to land, and the other striving to prevent them. The Macedonians, whose cavalry were inferior in number, besides the disadvantage of the ground, were wounded with the darts that were shot from the eminence; not to mention, that the flower of the Persian horse were drawn together in this place. The Macedonians, therefore, at first gave ground, after having lost the first ranks, which made a vigorous defence. Alexander, who closely followed them, reinforced them with his best troops, headed them himself, animated them by his presence, pushed the Persians, and routed them; upon which the whole army followed after, crossed the river, and attacked the enemy on all sides.

Spithrobates, lieutenant-governor of Ionia, and son-in-law to Darius, distinguished himself above the rest of the Persian generals by his superior bravery. Being surrounded by forty Persian lords, all of them his relations of experienced valour, and who never moved from his side, he carried terror wherever he went. Alexander observing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, clapt spurs to his horse and advanced towards him. They immediately engaged, and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other slightly. Spithrobates fell furiously sword in hand upon Alexander, who, being prepared for him, thrusts his pike into his face, and laid him dead at his feet. At that very moment Rasaces, brother to that nobleman, charging him on the side, gave him so furious a blow on the head with a battle-axe that he beat off his plume, but went no deeper than the hair. As he was going to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Clitus cut of Rasaces' hand with one stroke of his scimitar, and thereby saved his sovereign's life. The danger to which Alexander had been exposed, greatly animated the courage of his soldiers, who now performed wonders. The Persians in the centre of the horse, upon whom the light armed troops, who had been posted in the intervals of the horse, poured a perpetual discharge of darts, being unable any longer to sustain the attack of the Macedonians, who struck them all in the face, the two

wings were immediately broken, and put to flight. Alexander did not long pursue them, but immediately turned about to charge the foot. These at first stood their ground ; but when they saw themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry and the Macedonian phalanx which had crossed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged, those of the Persians did not make either a long or a vigorous defence, and were soon put to flight ; but the Grecian infantry in Darius' service stood the shock. This body of foot retiring to a hill, demanded a promise from Alexander to let them march away unmolested ; but following the dictates of his wrath, rather than those of reason, he rushed into the midst of this body of foot, and presently lost his horse, which was killed by the thrust of a sword. The battle was so hot round him, that most of the Macedonians, who lost their lives on this occasion, fell here ; for they fought against a body of men, who were well disciplined, had been inured to war, and fought in despair. They were all cut to pieces, except two thousand, who were taken prisoners.

In this battle twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, were killed on the side of the barbarians ; and of the Macedonians, twenty-five of the royal horse were killed on the first attack. Alexander ordered Lysippus to make their statues in brass, all of which were set up in a city of Macedon, called Dia, from whence they were many years afterwards carried to Rome by Metelles. About three-score of the other horse were killed, and near thirty foot, who, the next day, were all laid with their arms and equipage in one grave ; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children from every kind of tribute and service. This victory not only impressed the Persians with consternation, but served to excite the ardour of the invading army.

Soon after the battle of Grannicus, he recovered Sardis from the enemy, which was in a manner the bulwark of the barbarian empire. Four days after, he arrived at Ephesus, carrying with him those who had been banished from thence for being his adherents, and restored its popular form of government.

Alexander afterwards took Miletus, and demolished Halicarnassus to the very foundation. He next restored Ada, queen of Caria, to her kingdom, of which she had been dispossessed some time before ; and as a testimony of the deep sense she had of the favours received from Alexander, she sent him every day meats dressed in the most exquisite manner, and the most excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander answered the queen upon this occasion, that all this train was of no service to him ; for that he was possessed of much better cooks, whom Leonidas his governor had given him ; one of whom prepared him a good dinner, and the other an excellent supper : these were Temperance and Exercise.

He soon afterwards marched into Phrygia, the ancient dominion of the celebrated king Midas. Having taken the capital city, he was desirous of seeing the famous chariot, to which the gordian



knot was tied. This knot, which fastened the yoke to the beam, was tied with so much intricacy, that it was impossible to discover where the ends began, or how they were concealed. According to an ancient tradition of the country, an oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it should possess the empire of Asia. Alexander being firmly persuaded that the oracle was meant for him, after many fruitless trials, instead of attempting to untie it in the usual manner, drew his sword, and cut it into pieces, crying out, such was the only way to untie it. The priest hailed the omen, and declared that Alexander fulfilled the oracle.

Darius having been employed, for a long time, in collecting a numerous army to oppose Alexander, advanced towards the river Euphrates. Over his tent was exhibited, to the view of the whole army, the image of the sun in jewels, while wealth and magnificence shone in every quarter of the army. First they carried silver altars on which lay fire, called by them Sacred and Eternal; and these were followed by the Magi, singing hymns, after the manner of their country. They were accompanied by three hundred and sixty-five youths, equalling the number of days in a year, clothed in purple robes. Afterwards came a chariot consecrated to Jupiter, drawn by white horses, and followed by a courser of prodigious size, to whom they gave the name of the Sun's Horse; and the equerries were dressed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand,

Ten chariots, adorned with sculptures of gold and silver, followed afterwards. Then marched a body of horse, composed of twelve nations, whose manners and customs were various, and all armed in a different manner. Next advanced those, whom the Persians called *The Immortals*, amounting to ten thousand, who surpassed the rest of the barbarians in the sumptuousness of their apparel. They all wore golden collars; were clothed in robes of gold tissue with vestments having sleeves to them, quite covered with precious stones. Thirty paces from them, followed those called the king's relations, to the number of fifteen thousand, in habits very much resembling those of women; and more remarkable for the vain pomp of their dress, than the glitter of their arms. Those called the Doirphori came afterwards: they carried the king's cloak, and walked before the chariot, in which he seemed to sit as on a high throne. This chariot was enriched on both sides with images of the gods, in gold and silver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, rose two statues, a cubit in height, the one representing war, the other peace, having a golden eagle between them, with wings extended, as ready to take flight. But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king; he was clothed in a vest of purple, striped with silver, and over it hung a long robe, glittering all over with gold and precious stones, that represented two falcons, rushing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his waist he wore a golden girdle, after the manner of women, whence his scimitar hung, the scabbard of which flamed all over with gems. On his head he wore a tiara, or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed with white. On each



side of him walked two hundred of his nearest relations, whose pikes were adorned with silver, and tipped with gold; and lastly thirty thousand infantry, who composed the rear guard. These were followed by the king's horses, four hundred in number, all which were led.

About one hundred paces from thence, came Sysigambis, the mother of Darius, seated on a chariot, and his consort on another, with the several female attendants of both queens riding on horseback. Afterwards came fifteen large chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs. Then marched the concubines, to the number of three hundred and sixty, in the equipage of queens, followed by six hundred mules, and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treasure, and guarded by a great body of archers. After these came the wives of the crown-officers, and of the greatest lords of the court; then the sutlers and servants of the army seated also in chariots. In the rear were a body of light armed troops, with their commanders, who closed the whole march.

Such was the splendour of this pageant monarch; he took the field encumbered with an unnecessary train of concubines, attended with troops of various nations, speaking different languages; from their numbers impossible to be marshalled, and so rich and effeminate in gold and in garments, as seemed rather to invite than deter an enemy.

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## CHAP. IX.

ALEXANDER, as frequently happens to the greatest captains, felt some emotions, when he saw that he was going to hazard all at once. The more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns; the moment was approaching, which was to determine his fate. On the other side, his courage revived from the reflection, that the reward of his toils exceeded the dangers of them; and, though he was uncertain with regard to the victory, he at least hoped to die gloriously, and like Alexander. However, he did not divulge these thoughts to any one, well knowing, that, upon the approach of a battle, a general ought not to discover the least marks of sadness or perplexity, and that the troops should read nothing but resolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

Having made his soldiers refresh themselves, and ordered them to be ready by three o'clock in the morning, he went to the top of a mountain, and there, by torch light, sacrificed, after the manner of his country, to the gods of the place. As soon as the signal was given, his army, which was ready to march and fight, arrived by day break at the several posts assigned them. But the spies now bringing word that Darius was not above thirty furlongs from them.

the king caused his army to halt, and then drew it up in battle array. The peasants, in the greatest terror, came also, and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy, which he would not at first believe, imagining that Alexander fled before him, and was endeavoring to escape. This news threw his troops into the utmost confusion, who, in their surprise, ran to their arms with great precipitation and disorder.

The spot where the battle was fought, lay near the city of Issus, which the mountains bounded on one side, and the sea on the other. The plain that was situated between them both must have been considerably broad, as the two armies encamped in it. The river Pinarius ran through the middle of this plain, from the mountain to the sea, and divided it very nearly into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow kind of gulf, the extremity of which, in a curved line, bounded part of the plain.

Alexander had at first advanced very slowly, to prevent the ranks on the front of the phalanx from breaking, and halted by intervals; but when he was got within bow-shot, he commanded all his right wing to plunge impetuously into the river, purposely that he might surprise the barbarians, come sooner to a close engagement, and be less exposed to the enemy's arrows; in all which he was very successful. Both sides fought with the utmost bravery and resolution; and, being now forced to fight close, they charged both sides sword in hand, when a dreadful slaughter ensued, each engaging man to man. Alexander wished nothing so ardently as to kill with his own hand Darius, who, being seated on a high chariot, was conspicuous to the whole army. Oxathres, brother to Darius observing that Alexander was going to charge that monarch with the utmost vigour, rushed before his chariot with the horse under his command, and distinguished himself above the rest. The horses that drew Darius's chariot lost all command, and shook the yoke so violently, that they were upon the point of overturning the king, who, seeing himself going to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, leaped down and mounted another chariot. The rest, observing this, fled as fast as possible, and throwing down their arms, made the best of their way. Darius, the instant he saw his left wing broken, was one of the first who fled in his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy rugged places, he mounted on horseback, throwing down his bow, shield, and royal mantle. Alexander, however, did not attempt to pursue him, till he saw his phalanx had conquered the Greeks who obstinately opposed them, and that the Persian horse were put to flight; which proved of great advantage to the prince that fled. In this battle, sixty thousand of the Persian infantry, and ten thousand horsemen, were slain; while of Alexander's army, there fell but two hundred and eighty in all.

Sysigambis, Darius's mother, and that monarch's queen, were found remaining in the camp, with two of the king's daughters, his son, yet a child, and some Persian ladies; for the rest had been carried to Damascus, with part of Darius's treasure, and all such



things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than three thousand talents were found in his camp; but the rest of the treasure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at the taking of the city of Damascus.

The next day, Alexander visited his royal prisoners; and his noble and generous behavior on this occasion, occasions Plutarch to say, that "the princesses of Persia lived in an enemy's camp, as if they had been in some sacred temple, unseen, unapproached and unmolested." Sysigambis was distinguished by extraordinary marks of Alexander's favours: Darius himself could not have treated her with more respect than did that generous prince. He allowed her to regulate the funerals of all the Persians of the royal family, who had fallen in battle; and, through her intercession, he pardoned several of Darius's nobles, who had justly incurred his displeasure. This magnanimous conduct has done more honour to Alexander's character, than all his splendid conquests. The gentleness of his manners to his suppliant captives, his chastity and continence, when he had the power to enforce obedience, were setting an example to heroes, which it has been the pride of many since to imitate.

After this conquest, all Phœnicia, the capital city Tyre, only excepted, was yielded to the conqueror. Good fortune followed him so fast, that it rewarded him beyond his expectations. Antigonus, his general in Asia, overthrew the Capadocians, Paphlagonians, and others lately revolted. Aristodemus, the Persian admiral was overcome at sea, and a great part of his fleet taken. The city of Damascus, also, in which the treasures of Darius were deposited, was given up to Alexander.

Alexander next went to Sidonia, whose king, Strabo, he de-throned for his attachment to Darius, and permitted Hephæstion to elect in his stead, whomsoever of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of so exalted a character. This favourite was quartered at the house of two brothers, who were young, and of the most considerable family in the city. To these he offered the crown; but they refused it, telling him, that, according to the laws of their country, no person could ascend the throne unless he were of the royal blood. Hephæstion, admiring this greatness of soul, which could contemn what others strive to obtain by fire and sword, "Continue (said he to them) in this way of thinking, you who seem sensible, that it is much more glorious to refuse than to accept a diadem. However, name me some person of the royal family, who may remember when he be king, that it was you who set the crown on his head." The brothers observing, that several through excessive ambition, aspired to this high station, and to obtain it, paid a servile court to Alexander's favourites, declared, that they did not know any person more worthy of the diadem than one Abdolonymus, descended, though at a great distance, from the royal family: but who, at the same time, was so poor, that he was obliged to get his bread by day labour in a garden without the city. His honesty and integrity had reduced him, as well as many more,



to such extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his labour, he did not hear the clashing of the arms which had shaken all Asia. The two brothers went immediately in search of Abdolonymus, with the royal garment, and found him weeding in his garden. When they saluted him king, Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream; and, unable to guess the meaning of it, asked if they were not ashamed to ridicule him in that manner. But as he made a greater resistance than suited their inclinations, they themselves washed him, and threw over his shoulders a purple robe richly embroidered with gold; then, after repeated oaths of their being in earnest, they conducted him to the palace.

Alexander commanded the new elected prince to be sent for, and after surveying him attentively a long time, he spoke thus: "Thy air and mein do not contradict what is related of thy extraction; but I should be glad to know with what frame of mind thou didst bear thy poverty." "Would to the gods (replied he) that I may bear this crown with equal patience! These hands have procured me all I desired; and whilst I possessed nothing I wanted nothing." This answer gave Alexander an high idea of Abdolonymus's virtue; so that he presented him, not only with the rich furniture that belonged to Strabo, and part of the Persian plunder, but likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

The Macedonians had already subdued Syria and Phœnicia, the city of Tyre excepted. This city was justly entitled the queen of the sea, that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boasted of having first invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the winds and waves by the assistance of a frail bark. The happy situation of Tyre, the conveniency and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were industrious, laborious, patient, and extremely courteous to strangers, invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe: so that it might be considered, not so much a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the centre of their commerce.

Alexander thought it necessary, both for his pride and his interest, to take the city though it was generally supposed to be impregnable from its fortifications, and inaccessible from its situation. Alexander, however, prepared for the siege, which is one of the most celebrated recorded in history. After a long and obstinate defence on the side of the Tyrians, and a tedious and almost hopeless attack of the besiegers, Alexander took it by storm; and thus fell Tyre, that had been for many ages the most flourishing city in the world, and had spread the arts of commerce into the remotest regions.

## CHAP. X.

WHILST Alexander was carrying on the siege of Tyre, he received a second letter from Darius, in which that monarch seemed more sensible of his power than before : he now gave him the title of king, and offered him ten thousand talents, as a ransom for his captive mother, and wife : he offered him his daughter Statira in marriage, with all the country he had conquered, as far as the river Euphrates : he hinted to him the inconstancy of fortune and described at large the powers he was still possessed of to oppose.

These terms were so considerable, that, when the king debated upon them in council, Parmenio, one of his generals, could not help observing, that, if he were Alexander, he would agree to such a proposal. To which Alexander nobly replied, " And so would I were I Parmenio." He therefore treated the proposal of Darius with haughty contempt, and refused to accept of treasures which he already conceived as his own.

From Tyre, Alexander marched to Jerusalem where the Jews opened their gates to receive him. From this city, he went on to Gaza, where he found a more obstinate resistance than he had expected ; but at length, taking the town by storm, and having cut the garrison, consisting of ten thousand men, to pieces, with brutal ferocity, he ordered Bœtis, the governor, to be brought before him ; and having in vain endeavoured to intimidate him, commanded at last, that holes should be bored through his heels, and thus to be tied by cords to the back of his chariot, and in this manner to be dragged round the walls of the city. This he did in imitation of Achilles, whom Homer describes as having dragged Hector round the walls of Troy in the same manner : but it was reading that poet to very little advantage, to imitate this hero in the most unworthy part of his character.

He then marched into Egypt, and possessed himself of the whole of it, without meeting with the least opposition. He afterwards visited the temple of Jupiter, and caused himself to be acknowledged by the priests as the son of that god. Having settled his affairs in Egypt, he set out to march against Darius, who was now preparing to oppose him.

On his march, Statira, the wife of Darius, died in child-bed, and was honoured with a funeral ceremony due to her exalted character and station. The news of that melancholy event was carried to Darius by Tricus, one of Statira's eunuchs, who had effected his escape from the Macedonian camp. The news of Statira's death overwhelmed the mind of Darius with the deepest sorrow : but when he was told of the generous manner, in which the royal captives had been treated, he broke out into this exclamation : " Ye gods, the guardians of our births, and who decree the fate of nations, grant that I may be enabled to leave the Persian state rich and flourishing as I found it ; that I may have it my power to make

Alexander a proper return for his generosity to the dearest pledges of my affection ! But, if the duration of this empire is near at an end, and the greatness of Persia about to be forgotten, may none but Alexander be permitted to sit on the throne of Cyrus !” Such sentiments in a despotic prince must give a very favourable idea of the liberality of his mind.

The armies of Alexander and Darius were now hastily approaching each other, and at length met on a plain near the city of Arbela. The army of Darius, consisted, at least, of six hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse ; and the other of no more than forty thousand foot, and about eight thousand horse. The two armies engaged, and the battle was obstinate and bloody ; but the Persians were at length routed, and Darius and his army put to flight. Alexander then marched for Babylon, and entered that city in triumph, being received by its inhabitants in the most magnificent manner. He next took possession of Perepolis, at the head of his victorious soldiers ; who, though the inhabitants made no resistance, began to cut in pieces all those who still remained in the city. However, the king soon put an end to the massacre, and forbade his soldiers to commit any further violence.

Whilst Alexander was thus triumphing in all the exultation of success, the wretched Darius was by this time arrived at Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There remained still with this fugitive prince thirty thousand foot ; among whom were four thousand Greeks, who were faithful to him to the last. Besides these he had four thousand slingers, and upwards of three thousand Bactrian horse, whom Bessus, their governor, commanded. Darius, even with so small a force, still conceived hopes of opposing his rival, or at least of protracting the war ; but he was surrounded with traitors, his want of success having turned all mankind against him. Nabarzanes, one of the greatest lords of Persia, and general of the horse, had conspired with Bessus, general of the Bactrians, to commit the blackest of all crimes : to seize upon the person of the king, and lay him in chains, which they might easily do, as each of them had a great number of soldiers under his command. Their design was, if Alexander should pursue them, to secure themselves by giving up Darius alive into his hands ; and, in case they escaped, to murder that prince, and afterwards usurp his crown, and begin a new war. These traitors soon won over the troops, by representing to them, that they were going to their destruction ; that they would soon be crushed under the ruin of an empire, which was just ready to fall ; at the same time that Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immense riches. These promises soon prevailed upon the perfidious army, the Greek mercenaries excepted, who rejected all their proposals with disdain. Darius, thus betrayed by his generals, and pursued by his enemies, the Greeks solicited the honour of protecting his person, assuring him they would so do, at the expense of the last drop of their blood. But his noble spirit would not suffer him to accept the offer : “ If my own subjects (said he) will not give me



protection, how can I submit to receive it from the hands of strangers?" His faithful Grecian soldiers, finding it beyond their power to grant him any relief, threw themselves upon the mercy of Alexander; who, in consideration of their noble spirit, forgave them, and employed them in his own service.

The traitors seized and bound their monarch in chains of gold, under the appearance of honour, as he was a king; then inclosing him in a covered chariot, they set out towards Bactriana. In this manner they carried him with the utmost dispatch; until being informed, that the Grecian army was still closely pursuing them, they found it impossible either to conciliate the friendship of Alexander, or to secure a throne for themselves. They, therefore once more gave Darius his liberty, and desired him to make the best of his escape with them from the conqueror; but he replied that the gods were ready to revenge the evils he had already suffered; and, appealing to Alexander for justice, refused to follow a band of traitors. At these words they fell into the utmost fury, wounding him with their darts and their spears, and left him to linger in this manner, unattended, the remainder of his wretched life. The traitors then made their escape different ways; while the victorious Macedonians at length coming up, found Darius in solitude, lying in his chariot, and drawing near his end. However he had strength enough, before he died, to call for drink, which a Macedonian, Polystratus by name, brought him. On this melancholy occasion, the generosity of the unfortunate monarch shone forth, in the address he made to this stranger: "Now indeed (said he) I suffer the extremity of misery, since it is not in my power to reward thee for this act of humanity." He had a Persian prisoner whom he employed as his interpreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had been given him, turned to the Macedonian, and told him, that in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, he however should have the comfort to speak to one who could understand him, and that his last words would not be lost. He therefore charged him to tell Alexander, that he had died in his debt, that he gave him many thanks, for the great humanity he had exercised towards his mother, his wife, and his children, whose lives he had not only spared, but restored to their former splendour; that he besought the gods to give victory to his arms, and make him monarch of the universe; that he thought he need not entreat him to revenge the execrable murder committed on his person, as that was the common cause of kings. After this, taking Polystratus by the hand, "Give him (said he) thy hand, as I give thee mine; and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give of my gratitude and affection." Having said these words, he breathed his last.

Alexander coming up a moment after, and seeing Darius's body, he wept bitterly; and, by the strongest testimonies of affection that could be given, proved how intimately he was affected with the unhappiness of a prince who deserved better. He immediately pulled off his military cloak, and threw it on Darius's body;

then causing it to be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with royal magnificence, he sent it to Sysigambis, to be interred with the honours usually paid to the deceased Persian monarchs, and entombed with his ancestors. Thus died Darius, in the fiftieth year of his age, six of which he reigned with felicity. In him the Persian empire ended, after having existed from the time of Cyrus the Great, a period of 299 years.

The traitor Bessus did not escape the fate due to his crimes. Alexander pursued him, to avenge on the murderer the death of his royal master. After wandering, in anxiety and horror, from province to province, he was delivered, by the associates of his guilt, into the hands of Alexander, by whom he was put to a cruel death.

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## CHAP. XI.

THE death of Darius only served to enflame the spirit of ambition in Alexander to pursue further conquests. He crossed Parthia, and arrived in the province of Hyrcania, which submitted to his arms. He afterwards subdued the Mandii, the Arii, the Drangæ, the Hrachosii, and several other nations, into which his army marched with greater speed than people generally travel. He frequently would pursue an enemy for whole days and nights together, almost without suffering his troops to take any rest. By this prodigious rapidity, he came unawares upon nations, who thought him at a great distance, and subdued them before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence.

Alexander, now enjoying a little repose, abandoned himself to sensuality ; and he, whom the arms of the Persians could not conquer, fell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be seen but games, parties of pleasure, women and excessive feasting, in which he used to revel whole days and nights. Not satisfied with the buffoons, and the performers on instrumental music, whom he had brought with him out of Greece, he obliged the captive women, whom he carried along with him, to sing songs after the manner of their country. He happened, among those women, to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the rest, and who by a modest, and at the same time a noble confusion, discovered a greater reluctance than the others to appear in public. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her bashfulness, whilst she threw her eyes to the ground, and did all in her power to conceal her face. The king soon imagined, by her air and mien, that she was not of vulgar birth ; and enquiring himself into it, the lady answered, that she was grand-daughter to Ochus, who not long before had swayed the Persian sceptre, and daughter of his son ; that she had married Hystaspes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army. Alexander being touched with compassion, when he heard the unhappy fate of a princess of



the blood royal, and the sad condition to which she was reduced, not only gave her liberty, but returned all her possessions; and caused her husband to be sought for, in order that she might be restored to him. This single act of generosity should draw a veil over many of his faults.

Hitherto we have seen Alexander triumphing by a course of virtue, we are now to behold him swollen up by success, spoiled by flattery, and enervated by vices, exhibiting a very doubtful character, and mixing the tyrant with the hero. Upon a charge of a real or imaginary plot against him, he first put Philotas to death, and afterwards the father, Parmenio, who was at the time of his death seventy years of age, and had served his master with fidelity and zeal, which in the end was thus rewarded. Alexander, thus uniting in his person at once great cruelty and great enterprize, still marched forward in search of new nations, whom he might subdue.

Having subdued the Massagetæ, the Dahæ, and other nations, he entered the province of Barsaria, from thence he advanced to Maracander, and appointed Clitus governor of that province. This was an old officer, who had fought under Philip, and signalized himself on many occasions. At the battle of the Grannicus, as Alexander was fighting bareheaded, and Rasaces had his arm raised, in order to strike him behind, Clitus covered the king with his shield, and cut off the barbarian's hand. This favour, however, only advanced Clitus to a post of greater danger. One evening, at an entertainment, the king, after drinking immoderately, began to celebrate his own exploits, in a manner which shocked all his old generals. Clitus, who was also intoxicated, contradicted Alexander in all his assertions, and sung, with an air of insolence, verses reflecting highly on the prince, who seeing the general near him, he struck him dead with a javelin. The king had no sooner murdered his faithful servant, than he perceived the atrociousness of the act; he threw himself upon the dead body, forced out the javelin, and would have destroyed himself, had he not been prevented by his guards, who seized and carried him forcibly to his own apartment, where the flattery and persuasions of his friends at length served to alleviate his remorse. Alexander, in order to divert his melancholy, assembled his army, and marched in pursuit of new conquests.

He advanced into India, which having never been a warlike nation, he subdued it with the rapidity rather of a traveller than a conqueror. Numberless petty states submitted to him, sensible that his stay would be short, and his conquests evanescent. Sailing down the river Indus, and conquering every thing in his way, he at last came to the country of the Oxydraci and the Mallis, the most valiant people in the East. However Alexander defeated them in several engagements, dispossessing them of their strong holds, and at last marched against their capital city, where the greatest part of their forces were retired. It was upon this occasion, that seizing a scaling ladder, himself first mounted the wall,



followed only by two of his officers. His attendants believing him to be in danger, mounted swiftly to succour him; but the ladder breaking, he was left alone. It was now that his rashness became his safety; for leaping from the wall into the city, which was crowded with enemies, sword in hand, he repulsed such as were nearest, and even killed the general, who advanced in the throng. Thus with his back to a tree that happened to be near, he received all the darts of the enemy in a shield, and kept even the boldest at a distance. At last, an Indian discharging an arrow of three feet long, it pierced his coat of mail, and his right breast, and so great a quantity of blood issued from the wound, that he dropped his arms, and lay as dead. The Indian came to strip him, supposing him really what he appeared: but Alexander that instant recalled his spirits, and plunged a dagger in his side. By this time a part of the king's attendants came to his succour, and forming themselves round his body, till his soldiers without found means of bursting the gates, saved him, and put all the inhabitants, without distinction, to the sword.

The wound which at first seemed dangerous, having, in the space of six or seven days, assumed a more favourable appearance, Alexander mounted his horse, and shewed himself to the army, who seemed to view him with insatiable pleasure. Then continuing his voyage, and subduing the country on each side, as he passed along, the pilots perceived from the swell of the river that, the sea could not be far distant; and they informed the king, that they already felt the breezes of the ocean. Nothing so much astonished the Macedonian soldiers as the ebbing and flowing of the tide. Accustomed to the gentle floods of the Mediterranean, they were amazed when they saw the Indus rise to a great height; and overflow the country, which they considered as a mark of divine resentment. They were no less terrified some hours afterwards, when they saw the river forsake its banks, and leave those lands uncovered, which it had so lately overflowed. Thus, after a voyage of nine months, he at last stood upon the shore; and after having offered sacrifices to Neptune, and looked wishfully on the immense expanse of waters before him, he is said to have wept for having no more worlds left to conquer. Here he put an end to his excursions; and, having appointed Nearchus admiral of his fleet, with orders to coast along the Indian shore as far as the Persian gulf, he set out with his army for Babylon.

His army sustained incredible hardships on their return: passing through a country destitute of all sorts of provisions, they were obliged to feast on the beasts of burden, and were forced to burn those rich spoils, for the sake of which they had encountered so many dangers. Those diseases also, that generally accompany famine, completed their calamity, and destroyed them in great numbers: but the king's fortitude appeared to great advantage on this occasion. The army being in absolute want of water, some soldiers were sent to endeavour to find out a spring. They fortunately fell upon one; but it yielded them but a very small quantity of water. With what they had gotten, the soldiers returned rejoicing to the king,

who, instead of drinking it, poured it upon the ground, unwilling that his soldiers should sustain a calamity in which he refused to bear a part. This generous act inspired the soldiery with fresh spirits.

After a march of sixty days, they arrived in the province of Gedrosia, the fertility of which soon banished from the minds of the soldiery all their former difficulties. Alexander passed through the country, not in the military pomp of a conqueror, but in the licentious disguise of an enthusiast: still willing to imitate Bacchus, he was drawn by eight horses, on a scaffold in the form of a square stage, where he spent the days and nights in feasting. Along the roads where he passed, were placed casks of wine in great abundance, and these the soldiers drained in honour of their mock deity. The whole country echoed with the sound of instruments, and the howling of bacchanals, who, with their hair dishevelled, and frantic mirth, ran up and down, abandoning themselves to every kind of lewdness. This vice produced one of a much more formidable nature in the king's mind; for it always inflamed his passions to cruelty, and the executioner generally crowned the feast.

After various combats, conquests, cruelties, follies, and excesses, Alexander arrived at Babylon. On his approach to the city, many sinister omens were observed; on which account the Chaldeans, who pretended to foresee future events, attempted to persuade him not to enter that city. The Greek philosophers, on the other hand, displayed the futility of their predictions. Babylon was a theatre for him to display his glory on; and ambassadors from all the nations he had conquered were there in readiness to celebrate his triumphs. After making a most magnificent entry, he gave audience to the ambassadors with a grandeur and dignity suitable to his power, yet with the affability and politeness of a private courtier.

Alexander, finding Babylon, in extent and conveniency superior, to all other cities of the East, he resolved to make it the seat of his empire; and for that purpose was desirous of adding to it all the ornaments possible. Though he was much employed in projects of this kind, and in schemes beyond human power to execute, he spent the greater part of his time in such pleasures as this magnificent city afforded; but his pleasures often terminated in licentiousness and riot. The recollection of the cruel manner, in which he had put a period to the lives of some of his best friends and favourites festered in his mind, and cast a thick gloom over his spirits; to dissipate which, required the application of some very powerful remedy. The remedy, to which he had recourse, was *intemperance*. He was, of course, frequently invited to banquets, at which he drank so immoderately, as often to have no command left of himself.

On a particular occasion, having spent the whole night in a debauch, a second was proposed: he accepted the invitation, and drank to such excess, that he fell upon the floor, to appearance



dead, and in this lifeless manner was carried, a sad spectacle of debauchery, to his palace. The fever continued, with some intervals, in which he gave the necessary orders for the sailing of the fleet, and the marching of his land forces, being persuaded he should soon recover. But at last, finding himself past hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he gave his ring to Perdicas, with orders to convey his corpse to the temple of Ammon. He struggled, however, with death for some time, and raising himself upon his elbow, he gave his hand to the soldiers, who pressed to kiss it. Being then asked to whom he would leave his empire, he answered, "To the most worthy." Perdicas enquiring at what time he should pay him divine honours, he replied, "When you are happy." With these words he expired, being thirty-two years and eight months old, of which he had reigned twelve, with more fortune than virtue.

By the death of this illustrious conqueror were fulfilled many of the prophecies of the sacred writers. One of them is singularly striking: "The temple of Belus shall be broken down to the ground, never to raise from its ruins." That the word of God might stand firm, Alexander is cut off, at the very instant he is preparing to rebuild that temple, and to raise Babylon to its wanted splendour. Alexander left one son, named Hercules, who was born of Barsine, the daughter of Artabazus, and widow of Memnon. Both Roxana and Statira are said to have been left pregnant.

In whatever light we view this monarch, we shall find little to admire, and less to imitate. That courage, for which he was celebrated, is but a subordinate virtue; that fortune, which constantly attended him, was but an accidental advantage; that discipline, which prevailed in his army, was produced and cultivated by his father; but his intemperance, his cruelty, his vanity, his passion for useless conquests, were all his own. His victories, however, served to crown the pyramid of Grecian glory; they served to show, to what a degree the arts of peace can promote those of war. In this picture we view a combination of petty states, by the arts of refinement, growing more than a match for the rest of the world united, and leaving mankind an example of the superiority of intellect over brutal force.

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## CHAP. XII.

ALEXANDER having by his last words, bequeathed his empire "to the most worthy," men who had been accustomed to rule with absolute power, in distant, extensive, populous, and wealthy provinces, must have been highly pleased to find, that their sovereign's will threw no bar in their way to dominion or power. There was one, however, who appeared to have an extraordinary claim to distinction; Perdicas, to whom Alexander, in his last moments,



had delivered his royal signet. Possessed of merit, equal at least to that of his competitors, this adventitious circumstance might seem to have given him a superior title to the vast object in question ; but his rivals were too proud to suffer an equal to be exalted above them, without throwing some embarrassment in his way ; and too fond of power to bestow a title to an empire, without advancing their own pretensions. Accordingly they all remonstrated, and opposed Perdicas's elevation ; and, finding that they were not likely to succeed in their private schemes, by acting interestedly, they resolved to overturn his, by acting justly, in supporting the claims of the lawful heirs to the crown. These were Hercules, the son of Alexander ; and Aridaüs, Alexander's own brother. There was little or no contest about Aridaüs's right to a share in the sovereignty. He had been acknowledged to be insane ; and that circumstance, perhaps more than his consanguinity to the king, procured him an easy admission to the throne. The right of Hercules was not so readily recognized ; his mother was not of royal extraction : and as Alexander had always shewn a preference to Roxana and Statira, and had, moreover, omitted to mention Hercules in his last hours, his title was at once set aside ; but the exclusive right to the throne was not to be granted to one person. It was therefore judged proper, by all the leading men, to divide the sovereignty between Aridaüs and the child to be born of Roxana, should it prove a son. This appointment was easily acceded to, as the government that was naturally to be expected from it, would have full scope for the exercise of avarice and ambition. This settlement being made, the various competitors for the Macedonian empire retired to their respective employments.

Roxana being delivered of a son, whom they named Alexander, Olympias had been recalled to take charge of her infant grandson, and to sanction the new administration of Macedon by her presence. On her arrival at Macedon, she first let loose her savage revenge on Aridaüs, and his queen Eurydice. Aridaüs, the son of Philip by a concubine, had from his infancy been subjected to that aversion and hatred from Olympias, which the relationship that subsisted between her and him naturally excited. The infirmity of his understanding was said to have been the effect of a potion, which she gave him. Cynane, the mother of Aridaüs's queen, had been murdered at the instigation of Olympias. Amyntas, her father, the son of Philip the First's eldest brother, had also been destroyed through her contrivance : so that neither Aridaüs, nor Eurydice his wife, could be supposed to look upon her with complacence. Indeed, they had every reason to apprehend bad consequences from her getting into power, and they set themselves to provide for the worst. Eurydice raised an army, and marched to meet Olympias ; but on the two armies meeting, the troops of Eurydice went over to the standard of Olympias, and Aridaüs and his queen fell into her hands.

Olympias persecuted the royal couple with all that unrelenting hatred which marked her disposition : they were confined to a

prison, which was so small, that they could scarcely turn themselves in it. Their wretched sustenance was thrown in at a little hole, through which passed light and air, and all the other limited comforts they were permitted to enjoy. Perceiving that this barbarous treatment had no other effect than to excite the compassion of the people, and fearing that their commiseration would soon be converted into indignation towards her, she resolved to put a period to the miserable existence of her prisoners. She instructed some Thracians to enter the prison, and dispatch Aridaeus, which they did without remorse. He had reigned six years and four months.

This inhuman action being perpetrated, Olympias sent messengers to the queen, furnished with a poinard, a rope, and a cup of poison, desiring her to choose which she pleased. They found her binding up the wounds of her bleeding spouse, with linen which she had torn from her own body, and paying all that decent and solemn respect to the lifeless corse, which became her deplorable situation. She received the message that was brought to her with the greatest composure; and, after entreating the gods, that Olympias might be rewarded with the like present, she took the rope, and strangled herself. Thus were that hapless pair cut off. Olympias had now seen a period to the life of Aridaeus, whom she had long since deprived of every rational enjoyment, by robbing him of his understanding; and she had completed the ruin of Eurydice and her family, by consigning her to an end similar to that, which her violent and vindictive passions had formerly procured to her unfortunate parents. Nor was her thirst of blood yet quenched: for she caused Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, to be put to death. The body of Iolas, another brother of Cassander, which had long rested in the tomb, she had brought forth, and exposed on the highway; and an hundred Macedonians of noble birth were seized and executed, on suspicion of having been in the interest of Cassander. At last, however, the fortune of war threw her into the power of Cassander, who delivered her into the hands of those whose kindred she had murdered, and who thereupon cut her throat.

The furious contentions that now subsisted among the ambitious surviving captains of Alexander, deluged Greece in blood, and brought on the most unnatural murders. Besides those horrid and unnatural scenes we have already described, Roxana and her son Alexander were imprisoned, and treated with contempt; and Hercules, the son of Alexander by Barsine, the only remaining branch of the royal family, was murdered about two years after. Not more than twenty-eight years had elapsed since the death of Alexander, and not a single branch of his house remained to enjoy a portion of that empire, which Philip and his son had acquired at the price of the greatest policy, dangers, and bloodshed. Such, to the royal family of Macedon, were the effects of that ambition, which had lighted the torch of war over Europe, Asia, and Africa.



Among the last kings of Macedon, was Philip, son of Demetrius. He had two sons, Perseus and Demetrius ; the former of which accused the latter of a design to assassinate the king, who retiring into the inner apartment of his palace, with two of his nobles, sat in solemn judgment on his two sons, being under the agonizing necessity, whether the charge should be proved or disapproved, of finding one of them guilty. Perseus took care to procure such evidence against his brother, as might not fail of convicting him, and Demetrius was accordingly put to death. Philip, when too late, discovered that he had been imposed upon by a forgery, and died of a broken heart. He was succeeded by his son Perseus, who, some time after, was taken prisoner by the Romans, led in triumph through the streets of Rome, and then thrown into a dungeon, where he starved himself to death.

The fatal dissention among the Grecian chiefs exposed them to the inroads of every neighbouring power. The Romans, after the defeat of Perseus, established a new form of government in Macedon. The whole kingdom was divided into four districts ; the inhabitants of each were to have no connection, intermarriage, or exchange of possessions, with those of the other districts ; and, among other regulations tending to reduce them to a state of the most abject slavery, they were inhibited from the use of arms, unless in such places as were exposed to the incursions of the barbarians. Triumphal games at Amphipolis, to which all the neighbouring nations, both Europeans and Asiatics, were invited, announced the extended dominion of Rome, and the humiliation not only of Macedon, but of all Greece ; for the Romans now found nothing in that part of the world that was able to oppose them.

Greece, now sunk in that mass of nations which composed the Roman empire, had lost every vestige of national existence : and, while she was excluded from all participation in the prosperity of her conquerors, she shared deeply in their misfortunes. The civil wars of Rome drenched Greece with blood ; and, when that war was concluded, whoever had not appeared on the side of the victor, was considered as his enemy. Greece, in common with the other Roman provinces, had suffered many oppressions under the emperors, and from the repeated invasions of barbarians, when the accession of Constantine the Great to the Imperial throne, seemed to promise to the Grecian annals a new æra of glory, and some comforts for their past misfortunes.

The hopes of Greece, however, were even here disappointed ; for Constantine, by dividing his dominions among his three sons, involved the empire in the flames of civil war ; and his son Julian, who at last prevailed, overturned every thing his father had done. He was unable to protect the public prosperity, undermined by the despotism of a military government, and a general pusillanimity of manners. These invited attacks on the empire on every side. Julian was forced to yield a considerable territory to the Persian monarch. In Britain, the Roman ramparts were opposed in vain to the hardy valour of the North ; even the legionary



troops had been found unable to sustain the shocks of the unconquered Caledonians. The German tribes renewed their inroads into Gaul ; Africa rebelled, and a spirit of discontent and insurrection began to appear among the barbarian tribes on the Danube. In the reign of the Emperor Valens, the Huns, a new tribe of barbarians, in manners and aspect more horrid than any that had yet appeared on the Roman frontiers, plundered and drove from their settlements, the Gothic tribes on the further side of the Danube. Gratian, nephew and heir to Valens, shared the empire with Theodocius, whom the calamities of the times raised to the possession of the whole. The abilities and personal valour of this prince bestowed on the empire an appearance of vigour during his reign ; but his sons Arcadius and Honorius, between whom he divided the empire, brought up in the bosom of a luxurious palace, and sunk in effeminacy, were unequal to the task of governing an empire weakened by division. The reign of Honorius concluded the Roman empire in the East. Alaric, the Gothic chief, who, twenty-five years before, deemed it an honour to bear arms on the side of the empire, was adorned with the imperial purple. Augustus, the last Roman who was graced with imperial dignity at Rome, was compelled to abdicate the Western empire by Odeacer, king of the Heruh, about the year of Christ 475.

Amidst the calamities which attended and followed after this revolution, Greece saw her magnificent cities laid in ruins, her numerous towns levelled with the ground, and those monuments of her glory, which had hitherto escaped barbarian outrage, defaced and overthrown ; while the wretched descendants of men who blessed the nations with science and art, were either enslaved by the invaders, or led into captivity, or slaughtered by the swords of barbarians. Without inhabitants, or cultivation, and buried as it were in ruins, Greece was too insignificant to be an object of ambition, and left to the possession of any of the rovers of those days, who chose to make a temporary settlement in that desolated country. Constantinople itself, during the greater part of this gloomy period, retained little more than a shadow of greatness. The chief inhabitants were those families who, during the incursions of the barbarians, had made their escape to the mountains. Such was the state of Greece, with little variation, from the Gothic invasion, to the final overthrow of the Eastern empire by the Ottoman arms, in the year of the Christian æra one thousand four hundred and fifty-three.

However, even in the midst of war, devastation and slavery, Greece continued long to be the seat of philosophy and the fine arts. Whatever conjecture may be formed concerning the advancement of science in India and in Egypt, it is certain, that Greece was the country which enlightened, exalted, and adorned the rest of Europe, and set an example of whatever is beautiful and great. It was the genius of Greece that formed those very politicians and heroes, who first bent her lofty spirit under the yoke of foreign dominion. It was in Thebes, under the tuition of

Epaminondas, that her heroes were trained to a love of glory, and of all those arts and accomplishments of both peace and war, by which it is best attained. It was a Grecian philosopher who taught Alexander how to manage the passions, and govern the minds of men; while the writings of Homer, by a most powerful contagion, inspired his mind with contempt of danger and death in the pursuit of glory. As the light of Greece illuminated her Macedonian, so it spread over her Roman conquerors. Philosophy, literature, and arts, began to follow glory and empire to Rome in the times of Sylla and Lucullus, and, in their progress, drew to different schools every man of rank and fashion in Italy. Wealth, luxury, and corruption, and at last tyranny, banished it from Rome; but while it lasted, it made up, in some degree, for the want of liberty: if it were unable to resist oppressive power, it sustained the mind in the midst of sufferings. Even in the worst of times, when the Roman empire was in the last period of its decline, amidst the ruins of the ancient world, distracted by internal divisions, and torn to pieces by the incursions of barbarous nations from the east, north, and south, a succession of ingenious, learned, and contemplative minds, transmitted the sacred light of truth (which, like the sun, though eclipsed or obscured, never deserts the world) from one age to another.

The modern Greeks, without the least political importance, and sunk in slavery to a military government, retain but little of their original character. The gradations, by which that character faded away, are clearly discernable in their history, and present to the attentive eye a speculation of great curiosity and importance. The relaxation of manners gradually undermined the political institutions of the leading states of Greece, and the complete subversion of these, reacting on manners, accelerated on the declination of virtue. Simplicity, modesty, temperance, sincerity, and good faith, fled first: the last of the virtues that took its flight, was military valour.

END OF THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

## OF THE PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES AND EVENTS DURING THE EXISTENCE OF THE GRECIAN STATES.

*N. B. The figures at the end of the lines refer to the Date of the Events before the Birth of Christ.*

	BEFORE J. C.
FOUNDATION of the kingdom of Athens by Cecrops	1536
Foundation of the kingdom of Lacedemonia	1516
Troy taken by the Greeks	1184
Foundation of the city of Thebes	1035
Homer and Hesiod lived about	844
Foundation of the kingdom of Macedon	794
Beginning of the common æra of the Olympiad	776
Thales of Miletus, founder of the Ionic sect	640
Draco, legislator of Athens	624
Solon, and the other sages of Greece, lived about	604
Pythagoras lived about	564
Simonides, the celebrated poet	560
Pisistratus makes himself master of Athens	559
Heraclitus, chief of the sect that bears his name	544
Death of Pisistratus	526
Battle of Marathon	491
Death of Miltiades	490
Xerxes succeeds his father Darius	485
Xerxes sets out to make war against the Greeks	480
Battle of Thermopylæ	480
Battle of Salamais, and Xerxes' retreat into Persia	480
Battle of Plaræ	479
Pindar, the celebrated poet, flourished about	476
Sophocles and Euripides appeared in Greece about	473
Xerxes killed by Artabanus, the captain of his guard	472
The Persians defeated by the Greeks, and their fleet taken, near the mouth of the river Eurymedon	471
Birth of Socrates	470
Birth of Xenophon	450
End of the war between the Greeks and the Persians, which had continued fifty-one years	449
Alcibiades appears in the war between the Corinthians and the people of Corcyra	436



# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Beginning of the Peloponnessian war, which lasted twenty-seven years	431
A terrible plague raged at Athens	430
Death of Pericles	429
Lysander makes himself master of Athens, and Establishes the Thirty Tyrants	404
Death of Socrates	401
Birth of Aristotle, founder of the Peripatetics	384
Birth of Philip, king of Macedon	383
Birth of Demosthenes	382
Battle of Leuctra	370
Battle of Mantinea, and death of Epaminondas	363
Philip ascends the throne of Macedon	360
Birth of Alexander the Great	356
Plato died	348
Philip declared generalissimo of the Greeks	338
Battle of Cheroneæ, in which Philip defeats the Athenians and Thebans	338
Thebes taken and destroyed by Alexander	335
Death of Philip, who is succeeded by his son Alexander	336
Battle of the Grannicus followed with the conquest of almost all Asia Minor	334
Battle of Issus	333
Tyre taken by Alexander	332
Alexander goes to Jerusalem, makes himself master of Gaza, and soon after of all Egypt. Builds the city of Alexandria	332
Battle of Arbela	331
Darius seized and put in chains by Bessus, and soon after assassinated	330
Thalestres, queen of the Amazons, pays a visit to Alexander	330
Bessus brought to Alexander, and soon after put to death	329
Lysippus, of Sicyon, a famous sculptor, flourished about	329
Clitus killed by Alexander at a feast	328
Alexander's entrance into India	327
Alexander, on his return to Babylon, dies there, at the age of thirty-two years and eight months	323
Olympias, the mother of Alexander, causes Aridaeus, and Eurydice, his wife to be put to death, as she herself is soon after, by order of Cassander	317
Greece reduced into a Roman province, under the name of the province of Achja	146

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## PREFACE.

### TO THE HISTORY OF ROME.

THE principal advantage derived from the study of History, is the knowledge of men and things. We there see mankind rising suddenly to the highest pitch of glory and grandeur, and in an instant falling again into obscurity : we are there taught, that virtue only is the true source of happiness ; and that, however prosperous and triumphant vice and wickedness may be for a time, it will at last sink beneath the influence of truth and justice.

We may look upon History as the first master that children should have, equally fit to amuse and instruct them, to form their minds and hearts, and enrich their memories with an infinite number of facts as agreeable as useful. It is even very conducive, by the allurements of pleasure, which is inseparable from it, to excite the curiosity of that age eager to learn, and give them a taste for study. It is therefore, in point of education, a fundamental principle, and observed in all times, that the study of History ought to go before all others, and pave the way to them. Plutarch tells us, that old Cato, that celebrated censor, whose name and virtues have done so much honour to the Roman republic, and who took a particular care to bring up his son, himself, without relying upon the care of masters, composed purposed for him, and wrote with his own hand, in large letters, entertaining pieces of history : hence, said he, that child, from the lowest age, could, without quitting his father's house, get acquainted with the great men of his country, and found himself upon those ancient patterns of probity and virtue.

The age we live in, and this nation in particular, stand much in need of being undeceived in an infinite number of errors, and false prejudices, which almost every day increase, with respect to Poverty and Riches, Modesty and Pomp, the Simplicity of Buildings and Furniture, Costliness and Magnificence, Frugality, and the refined Arts of Cookery : in a word, concerning almost every thing which makes the object of the contempt or admiration of mankind. The public taste herein becomes the rule of young people, who cannot but think that valuable, which is valued by all ; for it is not reason, but custom, that guides them. One bad example alone would be capable of corrupting the minds of young people, susceptible of every impression. What is not, therefore, to be feared from them in a time, wherein vices are grown into custom, and sensuality exerts her utmost endeavours to extinguish all sentiments of honour and probity ?

## PREFACE.

The chief end in the study of History is to dispel the false prejudices which seduce us, because they please us ; to cure and set us free from the vulgar errors, which we have gradually imbibed from our infancy ; to learn us to discern the true from the false, the good from the bad, and to distinguish between solid greatness and vain pride.

There is no History, of what age or nation soever, which affords such a variety of characters, such subjects for reflection, as that of the Romans. These considerations induced me to set about the following little Book, for the use of young Ladies and Gentlemen, on a plan different from any thing of the kind that has yet appeared. It cannot be expected, in so short a compass as this work is comprised, that the reader will here find a regular account of all the transactions of the Romans, from the building of the city to the fall of that great empire. Those who have attempted it, even in works of ten times the size, have produced little more than a Table of Names and Dates ; and this is an error, into which those, who have wrote for young Readers, have generally fallen : this is an error I shall endeavour to avoid. I shall begin the History with the Foundation of Rome, and bring it down to the time of Augustus : in the course of which, my principal aim shall be to notice the actions of those illustrious persons, whose names will be ever famous through every part of Europe, and even the remotest regions of the earth, where history shall be read. Above all, the young Readers must remember, if they mean to derive any advantage from the perusal of this little Book, that they must read it with attention, reflect nicely on the characters they here meet with, the Rewards of Virtue, and the Punishments of Vice ; they must remark, by what means men became great and powerful, and how they afterwards lost their credit and authority. By making such reflections as these, they will soon acquire a taste for the study of useful History, will become an ornament for their country, will grow in love with Virtue, Honour, and Prudence, and be a comfort and a blessing to their parents and friends.



# ROMAN HISTORY.

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## CHAP. I.

*From the Foundation of Rome to the End of the regal Government.*

THE Roman empire, so inconsiderable in its beginning, but extensive in its progress, (to a degree not to be equalled throughout all the nations that have existed) received its foundation from Romulus, who was the twin brother of Rhemus, by their mother, a Vestal virgin. Their father, according to the ignorance and superstition of those times, was the god Mars. He lived at first, among the shepherds by plundering, and afterwards, at the age of eighteen, founded a small city on the Palatine hill, in the year of the world 3251.

Romulus having founded this city, which from his own name he called *Rome*, admitted a number of the neighbouring inhabitants into the government, selected a hundred of the oldest, by whose advice he might transact every thing, and named them senators, on account of their age. Finding himself and people then without wives, he invited the neighbouring states to a show of sports; and, while the Sabine virgins were fixed attentively on the sight, Romulus gave the signal, when immediately the Romans carried off 683 virgins, and married them. Wars ensued, in consequence of this violence offered to the damsels; but he soon conquered the surrounding states.

Romulus was said to have disappeared in a tempest, which arose on a sudden, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, and, being thought to have ascended to the gods, was afterwards deified.—However, it is more probable, that he was murdered by the senate, to whom his growing tyranny was become intolerable. The senators then governed at Rome by turns, for five days each, and, under their administration, a whole year was completed.

Numa Pompilius was afterwards created king, who, though he did not delight in war, being engaged in none during the whole course of his reign, was of no less service to the state than Romulus; for he established both laws and customs among the Romans, who, from a habit of fighting, were now looked upon as little better than robbers and barbarians. He divided the year, before undistinguished by any computation, into ten months, and founded an infinite number of sacred rites and temples at Rome. He died of sickness at fourscore years of age, and was buried.

with great solemnity, being laid in a stone coffin, and not burnt, according to the custom of the Romans.

He was succeeded in the regal authority by Tullus Hostilius, who re-commenced hostilities, and subdued the Albi, and other neighbouring nations. He enlarged Rome by the addition of mount Cælius, which was appointed for the residence of the people who were brought from Alba, to whom the king granted all the Roman privileges. He incorporated the Alban nobility with the senate, and, after having reigned thirty-two years, perished in a conflagration of his own house by lightning, with his whole family; but, more probably, by the wicked conspiracies of those, whom neither reason nor philosophy could influence in those barbarous ages.

After him, Ancus Martius, Numa's grandson by a daughter, took upon him the government: he fought against the Latins, added the Aventine mount and Janiculum to the city, built the city of Ostia on the sea-shore, and died a natural death in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.

Tarquinius Priscus next assumed the sovereignty; he doubled the number of senators, built a Circus, and instituted the Roman games; he also vanquished the Sabines, added a large portion of land, which had been taken from them, to the Roman territories, and was the first that entered the city in triumph. He made common sewers to drain the city of the filth and carry it into the Tyber; and it is to this prince, perhaps, we are originally indebted for that useful invention. He had acquired the supreme authority by means not to be justified: and however justly he may have supported his conduct as a sovereign, yet even that will not excuse the manner in which he obtained it. The two sons of Ancus Martius (the late king) enraged to see Tarquin possessed of the kingdom, disguised several of their companions like shepherds, who, going to court, pretended a quarrel, and demanded justice of the king. Tarquin appearing, they slew him and fled; but being apprehended soon after, were punished with death. This happened in the thirty-eighth year of his reign.

After him Servius Tullius took upon him the government, being descended from a woman of noble extraction, though a captive and a slave. He also vanquished the Sabines, added three hills to the city, and surrounded the wall with a ditch. He was the first that ordained the Census, which had been till then unknown throughout the whole world: their business was, to take a survey of the people, their effects, &c. in order to an equal taxation, and to make them serve occasionally in the wars. Upon this survey it appeared, that Rome contained, though the city had not been built much more than 176 years, 84,000 citizens. He fell a victim, in the forty-fourth year of his reign, to the cruelty of his own son-in-law, Tarquin the Proud, son to that king whom he himself had succeeded, and of his own daughter, whom Tarquin had received in marriage.

Lucius Tarquin the Proud, the seventh and last of the Roman kings, vanquished the Volsci, a nation not far from Rome, and re-



duced other cities. He was justly deprived of his crown for his tyranny and cruelty ; but the following circumstance brought that revolution about.

While Tarquin was encamped before Ardea, the capital of the Rutuli, whom he was then at war with, Sextus, his eldest son, who was as lewd and cruel as his father, fell in love with Lucretia, the wife of Tarquinius Collatinus, and daughter of Spurius Lucretius Tricipitinus, a very illustrious citizen of Rome. Collatinus carried Sextus and others to his house at Collatia, in order to give them a sight of Lucretia, and next day returned with them to the camp. But Sextus, now inflamed with Lucretia's beauty, went privately to Collatia, where he was entertained with great hospitality by that lady, and lodged in her house. In the dead of night, he found means to convey himself into her bed-chamber ; when, drawing near to her bedside, with his drawn sword, and thrusting his hands into her bosom, protested that he would kill her that instant if she made the least noise. The unhappy Lucretia, thus awakened from her peaceful slumbers, and seeing the instrument of death before her, was seized with the utmost horror and confusion.

At first, Sextus had recourse to entreaties ; but, these not availing, he declared, that if she refused to consent, he would first murder her, and then lay his own slave dead by her side ; that he would afterwards spread a report, that he had killed them both in the act of adultery. The ill-fated Lucretia, terrified at these threats, yielded to his impious wishes, and Sextus left her the next morning.

Lucretia, stung to the soul at this barbarous treatment, sent for her father and her husband, with whom came Publius Valerius and Junius Brutus. They found her involved in despair, and drowned in tears. She related the whole story, and rejected all thoughts of consolation, conjured them to revenge her injuries. After this, to give them the strongest proof she could of her chastity, she stabbed herself to the heart. The youthful reader must here be cautioned, that this last act of Lucretia was by no means meritorious, and could be justified only by the barbarous age she lived in.

Brutus her father, and Collatinus her husband, raised an insurrection among the common people on that account, and deprived Tarquin of the government. The army too, soon after, which was besieging the city of Ardea, with their king, deserted him ; and the king himself, on his arrival at Rome, found the gates shut against him, without hope of admittance. Thus, after he had reigned five-and-twenty years, he was banished with his wife and children.

This happened in the year of the world 3596 ; 245 years from the building of the city ; thirty-one years after the ruin of the Babylonian empire, and the setting up of the Persian, and 507 before the birth of our Saviour.



CHAP. II.

*From the Commencement of the Consular State to the year of Rome, 331.*

FROM this time two consuls began to be created in the room of one king ; for this reason, that if one of them should entertain any ill designs upon the state, the other, being invested with equal authority, might restrain him ; and it was enacted, that they should not hold the government for more than one year, lest, by the continuance of their power, they should be rendered insolent ; whereas they were likely to act with moderation, when they knew that within a year's time, they were to be reduced to the level of private persons.

In the first year after the expulsion of the kings, Lucius Junius Brutus, who had been the principal means of Tarquin's banishment, and Tarquin Collatinus, Lucretia's husband, were elected consuls : However, the latter was soon deprived of that dignity ; for it was enacted, that no one of the name of Tarquin should remain in Rome. Accordingly, having received all his patrimony, he quitted the city, and Valerius Publicola was created consul in his stead. King Tarquin, however, who had been expelled, made war upon Rome ; and having drawn together many nations, endeavoured to re-instate himself in his kingdom by force.

In the first battle, Brutus and Arunx, Tarquin's sons, slew each other ; but the Romans came off victorious in that fight. The Roman matrons mourned a whole year for Brutus, because he had so valiantly revenged the death of the injured Lucretia. Valerius Publicola chose Spurius Lucretius Tricipitinus, Lucretia's father, for his colleague, who dying of sickness, he next chose for his colleague Horatius Pulvillus. Thus the first year had five consuls : Tarquinius Collatinus withdrawing from the city on account of his name, Brutus falling in battle, and Spurius Lucretius, dying of sickness.

Tarquin having fled to Porsena, king of Thuscia, prevailed with that prince to undertake his defence. Accordingly, Porsena being arrived at the head of a powerful army before Rome, in order to restore Tarquinius Superbus, gained some advantage in the first attack, and there remained only one bridge to be taken, which would have made him master of the city. At this instant, Horatius, accompanied by two officers of great distinction, defended, singly, the passage with great bravery, till his own party had broke down the bridge ; after which he plunged, armed, into the Tiber, and though wounded in the thigh by a spear, swam over to his friends.

Soon after, Mutius Cordus desired leave from the senate to go to Porsena's camp, where he promised to murder that prince. The senate consenting, Mutius disguised himself in a Tuscan habit, and, being a master of the language, went over to the enemy's army, where, instead of Porsena, with whom he was not personally acquainted, he killed his secretary.

Mutinus was that instant seized, and carried before the king ; and, on his examination, instead of making any answer, he thrust his right hand into the fire, saying, he punished it in that manner because it had done him no better service. The king, being at once surprised and moved with compassion, ordered him to withdraw it, and himself returned him his sword.

Mutius taking it with his left hand, said to the king : “ Thy generosity has conquered him, whom fear never could. You have won my heart, and I will now discover to you (as a just tribute of gratitude which I owe you) a secret, which force could not have extorted. There are in the camp three hundred Romans, equally intrepid as myself, who have all taken an oath to destroy you. I was appointed first to attempt the blow : I am not sorry I failed in it since so magnanimous a prince as Porsena ought to be the friend and ally of the Romans, not their enemy.

Porsena, struck with this generous declaration, immediately concluded a peace with the Romans, to the no small mortification of Tarquin, who now found that all hopes were lost of being restored to his kingdom, and that Porsena would no longer afford him any assistance, retired to Tusculum, a city not far from Rome, and lived there with his wife for fourteen years, as a private person, and died in a good old age.

In the fourth year after the expulsion of the kings, the Sabines, making war upon the Romans, were vanquished, and a triumph granted upon that account. Lucius Valerius, the colleague of Brutus, and now a fourth time consul, died a natural death, and so poor, that the expenses of his funeral were defrayed by contributions raised among the people, and the matrons bewailed his death for a whole year, which was the same tribute they had before paid to the memory of Brutus. His poverty arose, not from luxury and extravagance, like that of all the great men of modern times, but from his love of his country. How happy would England be, could she imitate the virtues of the Roman people.

In the ninth year after the expulsion of the kings, Tarquin’s son-in-law, having raised a powerful army, in order to revenge Tarquin’s injuries, a new magistracy, called the Dictatorship, more powerful than the Consulate, was created. From him lay no appeal, being invested with absolute power for a limited time. In the same year too was created a master of the horse, who was to be under the direction of the dictator.

In the sixteenth year after the expulsion of the kings, the people raised a sedition at Rome, under a pretence of being oppressed by the senate and consuls : they then created themselves tribunes of the people, as it were for their own proper judges and protectors, by whose means they might be secured against the senate and the consuls.

In the eighteenth year after the expulsion of the kings, the Romans lost several battles, and their city was near being taken by Quintus Marcius, one of their own countrymen, who had raised an

army in the neighbouring kingdoms ; but was at last, by his mother and wife, persuaded to draw off his troops.

Caso Fabius, and Titus Virginius, being consuls, three hundred noblemen of the family of Fabii, alone undertook the war against the Veientes, promising the senate and people, that they would carry on the whole dispute by themselves. Marching out therefore to battle, all of them being persons of noble extraction, and each of whom deserved to be the leader of a powerful army, they fell in the fight. One only remained of so numerous a family, who, on account of his tender years could not be led forth to war. After this the Census was held in the city, and there were found to be 119,000 Roman citizens.

The year following, the Roman army being blocked up in mount Algidum, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus was created dictator, who, possessing a spot of ground of about four acres, cultivated it with his own hands. He was found ploughing in the fields, and, having wiped off the sweat from his brow, he was invested with the consular habit, then went and defeated the enemy, and delivered the army.

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### CHAP. III.

*From the Year of Rome 331, to the first Punic or Carthaginian War.*

AT this time the consular government ceased, and, instead of two consuls, ten magistrates, named the Decemviri, were created, in whom the supreme power was to be lodged. After they had acted with reputation for the first year, in the second, one of them, named Appius Claudius, attempted to debauch a young lady, daughter to one Virginius, who had already served with reputation in the wars ; but her father murdered her with his own hands, that she might not suffer violence from the Decemviri, and, returning to the army, raised an insurrection among the soldiers. Upon this the Decemviri were deprived of their authority, and they themselves condemned.

Soon after, the Gauls marching towards Rome, and pursuing the Romans, whom they had defeated at about ten miles distance from the city, made themselves masters of the city itself, nor could any thing hold out against them but the capitol ; which, when they had besieged a long time, and the Romans began now to be oppressed with famine, Camillus, who lived in banishment, came suddenly upon them, and overthrew them with very great slaughter. The Gauls had reduced the city to ashes, and would have made themselves masters of the capitol by surprise had not the cackling of the sacred geese alarmed the garrison. The Romans however, agreed to pay the Gauls a thousand pound weight of gold, and the latter using false dealings in their weighing, a contest arose, when Ca-



millus, taking the gold out of the scales, told the Gauls that it was the custom of the Romans to free their country with iron, not with gold. Immediately a bloody battle ensued, in which the Gauls were so entirely routed, that all the Roman territories were soon cleared of them.

In the three hundred and sixty-fifth year from the building of the city, but the first after its being taken by the Gauls, the form of government underwent a change ; and, instead of two consuls, military tribunes, invested with consular power, were created. From this time the Roman empire began immediately to gather strength.

In the year 422, a conspiracy was discovered to the senate by a female slave, of several women of quality, who had undertaken to poison their husbands. Twenty of them being examined, with regard to the quality of the draughts found in their custody, they obstinately denied their being poison ; but, being forced to try the experiment upon themselves, they died soon after. Besides these, 170 were executed publicly, who had poisoned some of the first people in the state.

I shall pass over the several battles lost and won by the Romans, and come to their wars with the Tarentines. This people lived at the distance of 240 miles from Rome, and were the last of the Italians who made a vigorous opposition to the Romans. The Tarentines, being almost conquered, called in Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to their assistance, who derived his origin from the race of Achilles. He immediately passed over into Italy ; and it was then, for the first time, that the Romans fought with a foreign enemy. Publius Valerius Lævinus, the consul was sent out against him, who, taking some of Pyrrhus's spies prisoners, ordered them to be led through the camp, and the whole army to be shown them, and the spies then to be dismissed, that they might inform Pyrrhus of what was doing among the Romans.

A battle being fought soon after, Pyrrhus when, on the point of flying, conquered by means of his elephants, which the Romans, being unacquainted with were afraid of ; but night put an end to the battle. Pyrrhus lost 13,000 men, the Romans 15,000, and 1800 were taken prisoners, whom Pyrrhus treated with the greatest honour. He gave their dead honourable interment ; and, observing that they looked stern and menacing even in death, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and cried, " How easily might the whole world be conquered, were the Romans commanded by Pyrrhus ! "

Pyrrhus afterwards, in conjunction with the Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutians, advanced towards Rome, laid all waste with fire and sword, depopulated Campania, and arrived at Præneste, about seventeen miles distant from Rome ; but soon after retired to Campania, for fear of the army, which pursued him with a consul at their head. Ambassadors being dispatched to Pyrrhus, to treat with him about ransoming the prisoners, they were honourably entertained by him, and the prisoners, without any ransom, sent back to Rome, Fabricius, one of the ambassadors, he admired so

much that, understanding he was poor, he endeavoured to win him over by services, and made him considerable offers ; which were rejected by Fabricius with disdain.

There is something so particularly great in this Roman, and so contrary to every thing we meet with in these times, that it is not even the narrow limits of this epitome, than can induce me to pass over in silence the speech of Fabricius to Pyrrhus.

“ It would be needless (said Fabricius) for me to mention the experience I have had in state affairs, as well as in those of a private nature, since you have been told these things by others. You also seem to be so well informed of my poverty, that there will be no occasion for me to acquaint you, that I have neither money to put out to interest, nor slaves to produce me any income, all my wealth consisting of a little house and a small field, which yield sufficient for my subsistence. Though I am not possessed with a considerable estate, I never thought, nor can yet think, that my poverty ever did me the least injury, when I consider myself as one who shares in the public posts, or as a private man. I am raised to the highest dignities, I am placed at the head of the most illustrious embassies, I assist at the most august ceremonies, and am entrusted with the most holy functions of divine worship. When affairs of the highest importance are to be debated, I have my seat in council, and give my opinion in them. I am on a level with those who boast the greatest wealth and power ; and, if I have the least cause of complaint, it is, that I am too much applauded, and too highly honoured by my fellow citizens.

“ During my enjoyment of these several employments, I am not obliged, any more than other Romans, to expend my own money ; for Rome amply rewards her citizens who toil for the public good. We are all wealthy, so long as the commonwealth enjoys affluence, because it is rich only for us. By indiscriminately admitting to public employments both rich and poor, according as men are judged worthy of them, all the citizens are thereby reduced to a level. Rome knows no other difference or distinction than that of virtue and merit.

“ With regard to my fortune, so far from repining at it, I look upon myself as the happiest of men, when I compare my condition to that of the rich, and I even feel, on this occasion, a kind of complacency and pride. My little field, though not over fruitful, furnishes me sufficiently with all things necessary, provided I do but bestow the proper culture, and preserve the produce of it. Do I need any thing more ? All food, when seasoned by hunger, is agreeable to me. When I am parched with thirst, it is luxury to quench it ; and, when I am fatigued, I taste the sweets of sleep with exquisite pleasure. I content myself with a suit that shelters me from the inclemency of the weather ; and, among the several moveables, which may be of like use, the meanest always suit me best.

“ It would be unjust in me to accuse fortune, since she furnishes me with all that nature requires. It is indeed true, that, for want

of this affluence, I am prevented assisting the necessitous, which is the only advantage for which the opulent may justly be envied. Even with my little, I assist where that little can be of service, and I do my fellow-citizens all the service in my power.

“The thought of accumulating riches never once entered my mind. Being employed so many years in the government, I had a thousand opportunities of amassing great treasures, without the least reproach to my integrity. Could a more favourable one be desired, than that which presented itself some years since, when, invested with the consular dignity, I was ordered to march, at the head of a powerful army, against the Samnites, the Lucanians, and Brutii ? I laid waste a vast tract of ground, I defeated the enemy in several battles, stormed many rich cities, enriched the whole army with plunder, paid to every citizen the money he had disbursed towards defraying the expenses of the war, and, after being honoured with a triumph, deposited four hundred talents in the public treasury.

“After having neglected so considerable a booty, part of which I might have applied to my own use ; after contemning riches that have been so justly acquired, and sacrificed, to a love of glory, spoils taken from the enemy, would it become me, O king, to accept of your gold ? What opinion would mankind entertain of me, and what an example should I set to my fellow-citizens ? I therefore advise you to keep your riches, and leave me in possession of my poverty and reputation.”

The next day Pyrrhus, trying all methods to unsettle the mind of Fabricius, ordered one of his largest elephants, completely armed, to be placed behind the hangings ; and, in the midst of their conversation, the tapestry was drawn aside, when the elephant raising his trunk over the head of Fabricius, set up a hideous roar. Fabricius though he had never before seen this animal, was not in the least intimidated, but turning gently about, and smiling, “Neither your gold yesterday,” (said he) “nor your terrible animal to day, can make the least impression upon me.”

Pyrrhus, being struck with the greatest admiration of the Romans, dispatched one Cineas, the principal person about him, to sue for peace upon reasonable terms ; which were, that Pyrrhus should remain possessed of that part of Italy which he had already made himself master of by arms.

These terms displeased the Romans, and answer was sent back by the senate, that he could have no peace with the Romans unless he retired out of Italy. The Romans then ordered, that all the prisoners, whom Pyrrhus had sent back, should be deemed infamous, as being persons who might have defended themselves by arms, and never to be restored to their former condition, till they had produced the spoils of some enemies, whom they were known to have slain.

The ambassador of Pyrrhus returned, and being asked by him what kind of a place Rome was, Cineas replied that he had seen a nation of kings ; that is to say, that all there were such as Pyr-



thus alone was thought to be in Epirus and the rest of Greece. Publius Sulpicius and Decius Mus, the consuls, being afterwards sent out generals against Pyrrhus, and a battle being fought, Pyrrhus was wounded, his elephant killed, and 20,000 of his men slain. Of the Romans there fell only 5000, and Pyrrhus was driven to Tarentum. We may hence observe, that with all the modern invention for the destruction of mankind in battle, the slaughter of these times is but a shadow of that of former ages.

The year after Fabricius was sent out against Pyrrhus, the same who, being before among the ambassadors, could not be won by the offers of that prince. Their camp lying at no great distance, Pyrrhus's physician came to Fabricius by night, offering to dispatch Pyrrhus by poison if he would reward him for it.

Fabricius instantly ordered him to be bound, and carried back to his master, and that Pyrrhus should be informed what proposals the physician had made against his life. The king was so struck with admiration; that he is reported to have said, "Fabricius is a person of such virtue, that it is more difficult to divert him from the paths of honour, than the sun from his course."

Pyrrhus then departed for Sicily, and Fabricius, having defeated the Samnites and Lucanians, obtained a triumph. Manlius Curius Dentatus and Cornelius Lentulus, the consuls, were then ordered against Pyrrhus; and Curius fought him, cut off his army, drove him to Tarentum, and took his camp. Of the enemy 23,000 were slain that day, and Curius Dentatus triumphed in his consulate; he was the first that brought elephants to Rome, of which he took four. Pyrrhus soon after retired to Tarentum, and was slain at Argos, a city of Greece, by a large stone thrown upon his head from the walls, by the hand of a woman, whose son he was on the point of killing in the attack.

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#### CHAP. IV.

*From the Commencement of the first Punic War to the End of the Second.*

IN the four hundred and seventy-seventh year from the building of the city, though the name of Rome was now become famous, yet their arms had not been carried out of Italy. That it might be known, therefore, what the forces of the Romans were, a survey was taken, and the number of citizens appeared to be 262,333, though they had hardly ever ceased from wars since the building of the city; and the first foreign war was declared against the Africans, Appius Claudius and Quintus Fulvius being consuls. These fought against them in Sicily, and Appius Claudius triumphed over the Africans and Hiero king of Sicily.

In the year following great things were done by the Romans, who received fifty cities more into alliance.

In the fifth year of the Punic war, which was carried on against the Africans, the Romans first fought by sea, having provided themselves with vessels properly armed. The consul Cornelius was trepanned by treachery; but Decilius, the other consul, giving them battle, defeated the Carthaginians, took thirty-one of their ships, sunk fourteen, made eight thousand prisoners, and killed three thousand more.

Never was a victory more acceptable to the Romans, who knowing themselves before invincible by land, now found they could do much by sea also. Caius Aquilius Floro, and Lucius Scipio, being consuls, the latter laid waste Corsica and Sardinia, carried away numbers of captives from thence, and obtained a triumph.

The Romans having taken seventy-four cities by surrender, the vanquished Carthaginians sued for peace, which Regulus refusing but upon the severest conditions, the Africans applied to the Lacedæmonians for assistance; and under their leader Xantippus, Regulus was overthrown with a very great slaughter, two thousand men only remaining of all the Roman army; fifteen thousand, with Regulus their general, were taken prisoners, and thirty thousand slain. Regulus himself was thrown into prison.

The Romans, however, prosecuted the war, and at last obliged the Carthaginians to sue for peace. The latter sent Regulus, accompanied by their ambassadors, to Rome, to propose terms of peace to the senate. Regulus had suffered five years imprisonment in Carthage, and, before his departure from that city, he had been obliged to take an oath, that he would return to it, should he prove unsuccessful in his negotiations, or not obtain the desired exchange of prisoners.

On his arrival at Rome, he acquainted the senate with the business he came on; and being required to give his opinion freely, he told them, that he could not do that as a senator, having lost that character from the time he had become a prisoner; but that he would not hesitate to give his sentiments as a private person. Every bosom felt for his misfortunes, and he might easily have restored himself to liberty, to the possession of every thing desirable, his wife, his children, and his country; but it was inconsistent with the honour of a Roman. "An exchange of prisoners" (said Regulus to the senate) "should not be so much as thought of, since an example of that nature would be of fatal consequence to you: those citizens, who so ingloriously surrendered themselves and their arms to their enemies, are unworthy of the least pity, and ought never more to be employed in the service of their country. As to myself, I am so far advanced in years, that my death ought to be considered as nothing; whereas you have in your hands several Carthaginian generals, in the prime of life, who are capable of doing great services to their country. I have so much the true spirit of a Roman, that I cannot do any thing that is base or dishonourable; nor do I so much fear the tortures of a cruel

rack, as the reproach of an infamous action: the former affects only the body, but the latter penetrates the soul."

It was with no small difficulty the senate complied with such noble and disinterested advice. Regulus, however, left Rome, to return to Carthage, unmoved either with the deep sorrow of his friends, or the tears of his family, though he was sensible of the torments that were preparing for him.

The moment the Carthaginians saw Regulus return, without having obtained the exchange of prisoners, they put him to all kinds of torment cruelty could invent. They threw him into a horrible dungeon, there cut off his eye-lids, and then placed him in the sun, when its beams darted the strongest heat. They next put him into a barrel stuck full of nails, whose points, piercing his flesh, allowed him not a moment's ease. At last, to complete their cruelty, they nailed this noble Roman to a cross, where he expired. They shortened his life, it is true, but they brought eternal infamy on themselves.

The senate were so enraged at this piece of cruelty, that they delivered up some prisoners of the greatest distinction to Marcia his wife, who shut them into an armoury filled with iron spikes, where she kept them five days together without sustenance, intending to torture them as her husband had been. The magistrates, however, relented at what they had permitted, and gave strict orders, that no captives should, for the future, be treated in that manner.

Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Caius Junius, being consuls, in the year of Rome 504, Claudius fought in opposition to the Auspices, and was defeated by the Carthaginians; for, of two hundred and twenty ships, he escaped with thirty only, ninety, together with their men, being taken, the rest sunk, and twenty thousand made prisoners. The other consul lost his fleet by shipwreck; but the army escaped by being near the shore.

However, the Romans were afterwards more fortunate, and obliged the Carthaginians to sue for peace. This put an end to the first Punic war, which had continued twenty-four years without intermission, in which the Romans are said to have lost 700 ships, and the Carthaginians only 500. The greatness of soul, in forming and executing exploits, were equally conspicuous in both, as was their obstinacy in disputing for empire. The Carthaginians were at that time deemed the most powerful by sea, and were the most expert in maritime affairs; but the Romans, though unexperienced in naval affairs, not only disputed the empire of the sea with a people, who had been deemed more powerful than any before them, but even conquered them in several sea engagements.

The peace, thus concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians, did not continue many years. Those states, who delight in war, are never at a loss to find pretences for breaking the peace. I shall not enter into the causes of the rupture between these two great people, it will be sufficient to observe, that about the year



535 from the building of Rome, began the second Punic war, one of the most remarkable that is recorded in history; whether we consider the boldness of the enterprises, the wisdom employed in the execution, the obstinate efforts of two rival nations, and the ready resources they found in the utmost extremity of fortune; the variety of uncommon events, the assemblage of the most perfect models in every species of merit and the most instructive lessons that occur in history, with regard to war or politics. Rome and Carthage, the two first cities in the world, having already tried their strength in the first Punic war, now knew perfectly well what either could do; in the second war, the fate of arms was so equally balanced, and the success so intermixed with vicissitudes, that the party which seemed most exposed to ruin, seemed most to triumph; and, great as the forces of these two nations were, it may be almost said, that their mutual hatred was greater. It seems necessary here to advise the youthful reader, should this epitome induce him to pursue his historical enquiries in larger works, to spare no pains in studying this part of the Roman history.

Hannibal, the famous Carthaginian commander, undertook the management of the war, being then about 27 years of age. Having overrun all Spain to the Pyrenean mountains, he crossed them with 50,000 foot and 9000 horse. Having passed the Rhine with great danger and difficulty, he at last came to the foot of the Alps, resolving from thence to cross into Italy.

The sight of these horrible mountains, it being then winter, struck the minds of the soldiers with terror. However, Hannibal, in spite of all difficulties, put the enemy to flight, and seized upon a fortress, and a considerable quantity of corn and cattle.

Advancing forward, they came to a steep and craggy path, which terminated in a precipice above a thousand feet deep. Here, as the soldiers and horses marched on nothing but ice, they found it impossible for them to go further; when Hannibal, after causing all the new-fallen snow to be removed, ordered a path to be cut in the rock, which was carried on with amazing patience and ardour; for the general always animated them by his presence.

Scipio, the Roman commander, hearing of Hannibal's progress, marched forward, and the armies met at a place now called Pavia. Here a battle was fought, in which the Romans were put to flight, and were soon after vanquished a second time.

In a battle, which was afterwards fought between Flaminius and Hannibal, in the year 537 from the building of Rome, both parties fought with such amazing animosity, that they did not perceive an earthquake which happened in Etruria, the seat of war at that time, and which laid whole towns in ruins. In this confusion, Flaminius was slain, with 15,000 Romans, 6000 were taken prisoners, and about 10,000 escaped to Rome.

Fabius was afterwards sent against Hannibal, who, by his prudent and cautious management, harrassed Hannibal, and kept him in a perpetual alarm. After various marches, Hannibal, without

being able to bring the Romans to a battle, found himself blocked up in a valley surrounded by hills. Fabius, observing this, detached 4000 men, who seized the pass. Hannibal now finding himself blocked up, had recourse to a stratagem. He ordered small bundles of vine branches to be tied to the horns of 2000 oxen : the branches were set on fire in the dead of the night, and the oxen drove to the summit of the hills, where the Romans were encamped. As soon as these creatures felt the flame they flew up and down in a rage, and set fire to all the bushes and shrubs that fell in their way. This sight so terrified the party who guarded the entrance, that they quitted their posts ; when Hannibal taking the advantage of their confusion, drew off his army and escaped.

In the year 538 after the building of Rome, a desperate battle was fought between the Carthaginians and the Romans. Lucius Emilius and Publius Terentius Varro were sent to succeed Fabius against Hannibal. Fabius assured the two consuls, that there was no other way of conquering the Carthaginians, commanded by that crafty and impetuous general, Hannibal, than by declining an engagement. But, a battle being fought, through the obstinacy of Varro, the consul, in opposition to his colleague, near a village called Cannæ in Apulia, both the consuls were defeated. In that fight 3000 of the Africans fell, and a great part of Hannibal's army was wounded. The Romans, however, never received such a blow in all the Punic war, for the consul Emilius Paulus fell in the battle, together with twenty others of consular and prætorian rank ; thirty senators were taken or slain, 300 gentlemen of noble extraction, 40,000 foot, and 3500 horse : three bushels of golden rings were likewise said to be taken from them on this occasion. In the midst of all these calamities, not one, however, of the Romans, condescended to mention a word about peace.

In the fourth year after Hannibal's arrival in Italy, Marcellus, the consul, engaged him with success, near Nola, a city of Campania. About this time, Philip, king of Macedon, sent ambassadors to Hannibal, promising him assistance against the Romans, provided that, when he had subdued them, he, in his turn, should receive assistance from Hannibal against the Grecians ; but Philip's ambassadors being taken, and the affair thus discovered, they sent Marcus Valerius Lævinus to march against them ; and Manlius the proconsul, was sent into Sardinia, that state too, at the solicitation of Hannibal, having deserted the Romans. Thus they carried on a war in four different countries at one and the same time : in Italy against Hannibal ; in Spain against Asdrubal his brother ; in Macedon against Philip ; and, in Sardinia, against the people of that island, and another Asdrubal who commanded the Carthaginians.

Various was the success of the war on both sides ; but, in the fourteenth year after Hannibal's arrival in Italy, Scipio, who had performed so many gallant things in Spain, was created consul, and sent into Africa. In this man there was thought something



divine, insomuch, that it was imagined he had converse with the gods. He fought Hanno, the Carthaginian, in Africa, and destroyed his army. In a second battle he took his camp, together with 4500 soldiers, 11,000 being slain. Syphax, king of Numidia, who had joined the Africans, he took prisoner, and forced his camp. Syphax himself, with the noblest of the Numidians, and an immense booty, were sent to Rome; on advice of which almost all Italy forsook Hannibal, and he himself was ordered by the Carthaginians to return to Africa, which Scipio was laying waste.

In the seventeenth year after the arrival of Hannibal, Italy was delivered from him, which he is said to have quitted with tears. Ambassadors from the Carthaginians applied to Scipio for peace, by whom they were referred to the senate, and a truce of forty-five days was granted them to go to and return from Rome. Thirty thousand pounds weight of silver was accepted at their hands, and the senate ordered a peace to be concluded with the Carthaginians, on such terms as Scipio should think proper. Scipio's conditions were, that they should maintain no more than thirty ships; that they should pay the Romans 500,000 pounds weight of silver, amounting to about the value of 1,575,000*l.* sterling, and restore all the prisoners and deserters.

Hannibal, in the mean time, arriving in Africa, the peace was interrupted, and many hostilities committed by the Carthaginians. The war being carried on, Hannibal sent three spies into Scipio's camp, who being taken, Scipio ordered to be led round the camp, and the whole army shewn them, and then to be feasted and dismissed, that they might tell Hannibal what they had seen among the Romans.

In the mean time both generals prepared for a battle, such as had hardly ever been remembered, when the skilful led forth their troops to war. Scipio was victorious, and Hannibal himself narrowly escaped being taken. He at first fled, with several horse which were at last reduced to only four. In this battle 20,000 Carthaginians were slain, and as many taken prisoners; 20,000 pounds weight of silver, and 800 of gold, with plenty of all sorts of stores, were found in Hannibal's camp. After this battle, a peace was concluded with the Carthaginians, Scipio, returning to Rome, triumphed with great glory, and began from that time to be called Africanus, an honour till then unknown, no person before him having assumed the name of a vanquished nation. Thus an end was put to the second Punic war, in the nineteenth year after its commencement.

It seems here highly necessary, notwithstanding the narrow limits to which I am confined, to point out a few reasons, how the Romans came to be so victorious, and the Carthaginians so unfortunate. Carthage, at the beginning of the second Punic war, and in Hannibal's time, was in its decline, the flower of its youth, and its sprightly vigour, being now in a hasty decay. It had begun to fall from its exalted pitch of power, and was inclining towards its ruin; whereas Rome was then, as it were, in its bloom and



strength of life, and swiftly advancing to the conquest of the universe. It is easy to see, that the declension of the one, and the rise of the other, was owing to the different form of government established in those republics, at the time we are speaking of. At Carthage every thing was in confusion, and the advice of the old and experienced was no longer listened to, every thing was transacted by intrigue and cabal. On the other hand, at this very time, the Romans paid the highest deference to the senate, which was composed of men, more remarkable for their wisdom than their riches. Hence it is no wonder, that the Romans, governed by the greatest sages, should completely conquer a rival, in a state of anarchy and confusion. May France, the Carthage of these modern times, ever fail in her attempt to sow those seditions among us, which at last conquered invincible Rome.

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## CHAP. V.

### *From the second Punic War to the Destruction of Carthage.*

THE Punic wars, which had brought the Roman state almost to the brink of ruin, ended nevertheless to its advantage. The Romans began more and more to know the value of riches ; and the polite arts flourished among them, in proportion as they grew better acquainted with the Greeks. The Punic war being concluded, the Romans carried their arms against Philip, king of Macedon.

In the year 551 from the building of the city, Titus Quintius Flaminius was ordered against king Philip. He managed matters successfully, and peace was granted to Philip on these conditions : that he should not make war upon the states of Greece, which had been defended against him by the Romans ; that he should restore the prisoners and deserters, maintain only fifty vessels, and deliver up the rest to the Romans ; for ten years pay a tribute of four thousand pounds weight of silver, and give his own son, Demetrius, for an hostage.

Flaminius made war also upon the Lacedemonians, defeated their General, Nabis, and admitted them into an alliance, upon such terms as he thought proper, leading Demetrius, the son of Philip, Armenes, the son of Nabis, hostages of noble extraction, in triumph before his chariot.

About the year 559, Plautus had his plays exhibited in Rome, where he brought comedy to great perfection, he being a considerable genius, and a perfect master of the Latin tongue, which, though it was not then arrived to its utmost purity, boasted even at that time, a noble strength and energy.

The Macedonian war being now finished, another was commenced against Antiochus, king of Syria. Publius Cornelius Scipio,

and Marcus Glabrio, being then consuls at Rome. To this Antiochus, Hannibal had joined himself, having quitted Carthage, the place of his nativity, fearing he should be delivered to the Romans, Marcus Acilius Glabrio fought with success at Achaia, the camp of Antiochus being taken by storm in the night, and he himself obliged to fly. Philip having assisted the Romans in this battle, had his son, Demetrius, restored to him.

Not long after, Scipio, the consul, pressed so hard upon Antiochus at Magnesia, that he was forced to draw out his army, consisting of 70,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, which Scipio attacked, though his force was very inconsiderable. The battle lasted, with great obstinacy, for some hours, when the Syrian troops were at last defeated; and the king's own chariots, which were armed with scythes, being driven back upon his soldiers, contributed very much to his overthrow. There fell this day, of the Syrian army, as well in the battle, as in the pursuit and plunder of the camp, 50,000 foot, and 4000 horse; 1400 were taken prisoners, with fifteen elephants and their guides. The Romans lost but 300 foot, and twenty-four horse. This victory won the Romans, all the cities of Asia Minor, which now submitted to them.

Antiochus then sued for peace, which was granted him upon the same conditions by the senate, though now vanquished, as were before offered: that he should retire out of Europe and Asia, and confine himself within the river Taurus, pay 10,000 talents, and gave them twenty hostages, and that he should deliver up Hannibal, the author of the war.

Scipio returned to Rome, and triumphed with great glory. In imitation of his brother, he received the name of Asiaticus, because he had subdued Asia; as his brother, on account of his reduction of Africa, had received the name of Africanus.

Scipio Africanus being afterwards accused by the senate of defrauding the treasury, withdrew to Linternum, a town of Campania, where he spent the rest of his days in cultivating the muses, and the conversation of learned men. He died the same year, and ordered words to the following purport to be engraved on his tomb: *Ungrateful country! thou shalt not possess my ashes.* Scipio Asiaticus was also accused of much the like crimes with his brother, but escaped punishment by the means of Gracchus. At this time luxury and indolence began insensibly to gain on the Romans, which is said to have been introduced by the army on their return from the wars of Asia.

As for Hannibal, after flying from place to place, to escape falling into the hands of the Romans he at last sought an asylum in the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia. Hannibal making some stay there, that prince engaged him in the war with Eumenes, king of Pergamus. He gained for Prusias several battles by land and sea, when Hannibal imagined, that such important services would forever secure him a faithful friend in that prince.

The Romans, however, would not suffer him to rest any where: they dispatched Flaminius to Prusias, to complain of his protecting

Hannibal. The latter knew too well the motive of this embassy, and therefore determined not to give his enemies the opportunity of delivering him up. He at first attempted his security by flight, but perceiving that the seven secret outlets, which he had contrived in his palace, were all seized by the soldiers of Prusias, who, by this treacherous action, hoped to ingratiate himself with the Romans, he ordered poison, which he had long kept for this melancholy occasion, to be brought him ; and taking it in his hand, ‘ Let us (said he) free the Romans from a disquietude, with which they have been long tortured, since they have not patience to wait for the death of a man, whom old age has already overtaken. The victory, which Flaminius gains over a naked, betrayed man, will not do him honour. This single day will be a lasting testimony of the great degeneracy of the Romans. Their forefathers sent notice to Pyrrhus, to caution him to guard against a traitor, who intended to poison him, and that at a time when this prince was engaged in an obstinate war against them, in the very heart of Italy ; but their inglorious sons have deputed a person of consular dignity to spirit up Prusias impiously to murder one, who is not only his guest but his friend.’

After calling down curses upon Prusias, and invoking the gods, the protectors and avengers of the sacred rights of hospitality, he swallowed the poison, and died in the seventieth year of his age, being buried at Libyssa, in the territories of the Nicomedians.

Thus fell, perhaps, one of the greatest generals the world ever produced, and to whom, during the seventeen years of the Punic war, only two faults are imputed ; first, his not marching, immediately after the battle of Gannæ, his victorious forces to Rome, in order to besiege that city ; and, secondly, his suffering their courage to be softened and enervated during their winter-quarters in Capua. But this only shews, that human nature is frail, and that the greatest have their errors. These failings, however, are totally absorbed in the shining parts of his character : he had that presence of mind, even in the heat and fire of action, to take all advantages ; and, though his army consisted of so great a variety of nations, who were often in want both of money and provisions, yet, so artful was his management, that his camp was never once disturbed with any insurrection, either against himself, or any of his generals. He must have been very fruitful in expedients, to be able to carry on, for so many years, a war in a far distant country, in spite of the opposition made at home by a powerful faction, which refused him supplies of every kind, and thwarted him on all occasions. He was not only the warrior but the statesman : so superior and universal was his genius, that he grasped all parts of government ; and so great were his natural talents, that he was able to acquit himself of the various functions of it with glory. He shone as conspicuously in the cabinet as in the field, being equally capable to fill civil or military employments. In a word, there were united in his person, the warrior, the senator, and the financier.

About the year 586, from the building of Rome, learning began



to flourish much more than ever among the Romans, who had greatly improved themselves from their familiarity with the Greeks, and was very much encouraged by Scipio, (Emnus, the consul's son, adopted by the son of Africanus) and by Lælius, son to him who had formerly done signal services in Africa. Scipio and Lælius, who boasted the finest accomplishments, were the noble patrons of eloquence, poetry, and the polite arts. Under them flourished Terence, the famous comic poet, who wrote with vast accuracy, and very much improved the graces of the Roman tongue.

The inhabitants of Rome were now considerably increased; 312,081 free citizens being cessed about this time. For about eighteen years, the Romans were employed in less important wars with the Ligurians, Corsicans, Dalmatians, Spaniards, and Macedonians, all which, being considered only as so many revolts, did not any way endanger the Roman commonwealth.

About the year 604, from the building of Rome began the third Punic war, when it was determined in the Roman senate, that *Carthage must be destroyed*. The next year, Censorinus and Manlius, then consuls, were sent to Africa with 150 galleys, 80,000 foot, and 4000 horse, which terrifying the Carthaginians, they sent ambassadors to Rome to offer an unlimited submission. Answer was made, that the senate of Rome granted them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, all their territories, and other possessions, provided that, within thirty days, they should send as hostages to Lilybæum 300 young Carthaginians, of the first distinction, and comply with the orders of the consuls.

These severe terms were submitted to, and the hostages were ordered to depart; but the cries, groans, and lamentations of their mothers at their departure, whom they were to see no more, is much easier to be conceived than described.

No sooner had the Carthaginian deputies arrived at the Roman camp, than they were told by Censorinus, that the people of Carthage must immediately deliver up all their arms to him; to which they were forced to consent; and which was no sooner commanded than done.

Censorinus, having applauded their obedience, told them, that the Roman people were determined totally to demolish Carthage; but that the inhabitants might remove from it, and found another city in their own territories, provided its distance from the sea did not exceed ten miles.

The most tremendous thunder from the skies could not have more affected the Carthaginians, than did this sentence of the consul. They knew neither where they were, what they did or said; but, tearing their clothes, rolled themselves in the dust. After some time, recovering from the first emotions of horror and despair, though destitute of men and arms, they shut their gates, and resolved to make an obstinate resistance.

The Roman consul, thinking he had nothing to fear from them, made no great haste to march against Carthage, whose inhabitants

instantly set about making arms with incredible expedition ; the temples, palaces, and open squares, were all changed into so many arsenals, where men and women worked day and night ; and because materials were wanting to make ropes, the women cut off their hair, which amply supplied the want of proper materials.

The Romans marched and invested the city, but were repulsed at every assault, and no material advantage was gained by them during the whole campaign. The siege was carried on very slowly, and the besieged recovered their spirits, having made the boldest sallies, burnt their engines, and harrassed their foragers.

The Romans being determined on the destruction of Carthage, and uneasy at the little progress made by their generals, sent Scipio thither in 607. His first business was to revive the discipline among the troops, which had been entirely neglected, and then prepared to carry on the siege with vigour. During the winter quarters, Scipio endeavoured to defeat the enemy's troops without the city, and in one engagement slew 70,000 of them.

Early the next spring, Scipio, having attacked, at one and the same time, the harbour called Cothon, and the citadel, he then marched towards the forum, where was the most shocking spectacle of slaughtered people ; some cut to pieces by the murdering weapons, others half-killed by the fall of horses ; others torn limb from limb, or half-buried in the earth and trampled on, lay mangled in heaps in the most shocking manner.

The Carthaginians, wearied out with these ill-successes, besought the Romans, to spare the lives of all those who should be willing to leave the citadel. This was granted to all, except deserters ; and, in consequence thereof, there came out 50,000 men and women, who were sent into the fields under a strong guard.

Asdrubal, with his wife and two children, together with about 900 deserters, fortified themselves in the temple of Esculapius ; but Asdrubal being at last conquered by famine, and desirous of saving his own life, came down privately to Scipio, and threw himself at his feet. The Roman general shewed him immediately to the deserters, who, transported with rage and fury at the sight, vented the most horrid imprecations against him, and set fire to the temple.

As the flames were spreading, Asdrubal's wife, dressing herself as splendid as possible, and placing herself and her two children in sight of Scipio, addressed herself to him, in a loud voice, as follow : " I call not down curses upon thy head, O Roman ; for you have acted only as the laws of war permit you ; but may the gods of Carthage, and thou in concert with them, punish, according to his deserts, the base wretch, who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, and his children."

She then thus addressed herself to Asdrubal : " Perfidious wretch ! Thou basest of creatures ! This fire will soon consume both me and my children ; but, as to thee, go and adorn the gay triumph of thy conqueror, and suffer, in the sight of all Rome, the tortures you have so justly merited." No sooner had she spoken

these words, but, snatching up her children, she cut their throats, threw them into the flames, then rushed headlong into them herself, and was followed by the deserters, where they all instantly perished.

Thus fell the mighty Carthage 708 years after its building, and about 608 years after the building of Rome. It contained an innumerable multitude of inhabitants, and, being twenty-four miles in compass, continued burning seventeen days together. The conquering Scipio, after seeing this mighty pile in flames, could not help weeping over its ruins. He did not enrich himself with the spoils of this ill-fated country, but distributed them among his soldiers.—Remember, youthful reader, however prosperous fortune may be at present, however flattering the bloom of life, calamities may overtake you, and though you should be happy enough to escape them, do not forget that old age, which steals imperceptibly on you, will one day lay you, as the power of Rome did Carthage, in the dust.

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## CHAP. VI.

*From the destruction of Carthage to the Year of Rome 650.*

SOON after the destruction of Carthage, the Romans likewise conquered and demolished Corinth, which was one of the finest and most beautiful cities in all Greece, because they had affronted the Roman ambassadors, sent to dissolve the confederacy, and to leave the cities in the government of their own peculiar laws.

In the mean time Viriatus, a Shepherd, who made himself captain of a band of robbers, and afterwards became general of a numerous party of men like himself, stirred up so many nations in Spain to rebellion, that the Romans were in danger of being dispossessed of that country. Viriatus having reduced Q. Fabius to such extremity, that he was obliged to accept of equal terms. Cæpio, who was consul the succeeding year, refused to abide with those terms, and thereupon continued the war. This consul having bribed three of the friends of Viriatus, they murdered him in his sleep. This was a matter of no small disgrace to Rome, and particularly to Cæpio. It is amazing that a people, who had conquered the most powerful nations then in being, should be guilty of such an enormous crime to get rid of oneman. One would almost imagine, that this man had rendered himself as formidable to the Romans as ever was Hannibal, since they took the same road to get rid of both.

In the year of Rome 612, the war was carried on with the greatest vigour in Spain, where the Romans made but a very indifferent figure, being several times repulsed by the Numantines, who at last obliged them to accept of a peace no ways honourable to the Romans.



The war proving every year more unsuccessful, the Romans having sustained great losses, in the year of Rome 616, Macinus was sent to command in Spain, who was defeated in four engagements. In the last battle, the Numantines seized his camp, after attacking them in a narrow passage, where they fought with the greatest advantage, and made him submit to a most inglorious peace.

The senate was exasperated with Macinus, and refused to ratify his peace. They stripped him quite naked, and, tying his hands behind him, sent him to the enemy, that they might revenge themselves on him for their breaking the ignominious peace he had concluded. The enemy, however, would not receive him, saying, the blood of one person was not a sufficient expiation for the breach of public faith.

The war with the Numantines continued till the year of Rome 622; and, till that time, the Romans were defeated in almost every battle. The senate, exasperated at their ill success, now resolved to send Scipio, who had destroyed Carthage. He had no sooner taken on him the command, than he began to restore the discipline of the troops, the want of which had been the chief cause of their ill success; and, in fifteen months after his arrival in Spain, left Numantia in ashes.

If we compare the Numantines with the Romans, we shall find that the former had as much bravery and greatness of soul as the latter, if we may give the name of bravery and greatness to what would, in these times, be considered as savage brutality. The Numantines, oppressed by famine, and despairing of obtaining from Scipio any other terms, than that of surrendering at discretion, they murdered their wives and children, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Romans, and burnt them with their most precious effects: after this, they either killed themselves, or rushed into the midst of the Roman army, where they were all cut to pieces, hardly a man being left to adorn Scipio's triumph. This famous city, with only 4000 men, supported a siege of nine years against 40,000 Romans, whom they beat in several battles. On Scipio's return to Rome, to the surname of Africanus was now added that of Numantinus.

In proportion as Rome grew powerful in her conquests abroad, her citizens grew weak and enervated at home. Those, who had formerly been accustomed to brave the most threatening dangers and the most toilsome labours, were now sinking into effeminacy, ease, and affluence, and the love of arms were succeeded by that of riches and splendour. To this fatal degeneracy was owing the fall of the grandeur, and the destruction of the happiness of Rome; their ambition and thirst after honours and dignities; their avarice, which soon banished plain dealings, justice, probity, and all the social virtues; their pride, cruelty, contempt of the gods, and mercenary prostitution of every thing; their ambition, which taught them the art of dissimulation, and the use of good or bad means to arrive at their several ends; all these, combined together, hastened their destruction.

These vices, having once taken root, like poisonous weeds, are difficult to be eradicated. The government of Rome, once so famous for justice and lenity, now degenerated into cruelty and oppression. Though the Romans, indeed, after this period, conquered many powerful nations, though learning, and the polite arts were continually increasing, yet every thing was sullied at home by inglorious factions, jealousies and feuds, which were sometimes carried even to the destruction of each other, of which Tiberius Gracchus was the first remarkable instance.

This man, who was of a restless disposition, had been concerned in the dishonourable treaty concluded by Mancinus in Spain; and being reflected upon on that account by the senate, he endeavoured to make himself popular by taking the part of the poor peasants, who were dispossessed of their lands by the rich; whereby the public was defrauded of its revenues, and the poor of their subsistence.

Being elected tribune, he enacted several laws in behalf of the poor, which obliged the patricians to give up a considerable part their estates. Disputes running high between Gracchus and the senate, the latter commanded Mutius Scævola, the consul, to defend the commonwealth by force of arms; but he refused. Immediately Scipio Nasica, then Pontifex Maximus, and Gracchus's kinsman a person of great merit, and friend to the commonwealth, went to seek Gracchus at the capitol, calling aloud to all those who had the welfare of their country at heart to follow him.

At these words the senators, the principal patricians, and the greatest part of the Roman knights, with such of the people, armed with clubs and staves, as had not joined in the insurrection, rushed upon Gracchus, while he was haranguing the populace, and beat out his brains, killing also 300 of his followers at the same time.

This was the first sedition after the expulsion of the kings, which ended in the effusion of blood. After the fall of Gracchus there was no tribune who had courage or generosity enough to espouse the part of the oppressed. Avarice and self-interest produced a servile submission to the will of the great, and the regard the Romans once had for their country was no totally forgotten. Pride and luxury succeeded that noble disinterestedness, to which Rome owed its power and grandeur.

In the year of Rome 625, the number of free citizens who were cessed amounted to 330,825. In the year 631, notwithstanding the precautions taken to hinder Carthage from ever being rebuilt, in less than twenty-five years after its destruction, and even in Scipio's life-time, Caius, younger brother of Tiberius Gracchus, in order to make himself popular, undertook to rebuild it, and conducted thither a colony of 6000 citizens for that purpose. The senate did all in their power to interrupt it, as they were informed of several unlucky omens at the time of laying the foundation: but the tribunes, who were not over scrupulous in religious mat-



ters, went on with the building and finished it in a few days. This was the first colony sent out of Italy.

Caius Gracchus being appointed one of the triumviri for dividing the lands, gave great offence to the Italians, who thought themselves treated with great severity, and called in Scipio to their protection; who did not act with that vigour the people expected. Not long after, Scipio was one morning found dead in his bed: his wife, Sempronia, and Cornelia, his mother-in-law, who was mother of the Gracchi, being suspected of having poisoned him. He was, at the time of his death, about fifty-seven years of age and possessed every qualification necessary in the warrior and the senator. He knew how happily to blend repose and action, and how to employ his leisure with great delicacy and taste: he divided his time between the toils of arms, and the peaceful study of the best authors: between the military labours of the camp and the quiet business of the senate. Herein he set an example to those of the most illustrious birth, as well as to others, either dignified with titles or conquests, how necessary it is, that they should improve their minds, and fortify their souls, by useful study, and the opinions of those great personages, who lived before them. Human life is confined to narrow limits, and must therefore know little of itself: how necessary then is it, that we should call into our assistance such things, which, if we will but take the pains to inquire into, will at once shew us the paths we ought to pursue to arrive at glory. In reading of history, we are shewn by what means some have sunk into obscurity, and others raised to the highest pitch of grandeur; we are thereby enabled to choose the good, and reject the evil, without buying knowledge at the highest price of experience.

Caius Gracchus now carried things with a high hand, and even raised an insurrection, when the consul published a proclamation offering to any person, who should bring the head of Caius, the weight of it in gold. Caius now doubting the stability of the populace who had joined him, after so great a reward offered for his head, flew to a grove consecrated to the furies, on the other side the Tiber, where, believing it not possible for him to escape those who were in search of him, he prevailed with Philocrates his faithful slave, to kill him, after which Philocrates murdered himself on the body of his master. This happened about the year of Rome 631.

Much about this time, or soon after, Fabius Maximus, overthrew Bituitus, king of the Arverni, or people of Auvergne in France, and took him and his son prisoners, after killing 120,000 of his men. This bloody battle was fought near the banks of the Rhone; and Fabius Maximus, at his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph.

The king of Numidia, named Masinissa, having three legitimate sons, had ordered, by his last will, that his dominions should be divided among them by Scipio, which he afterwards did with the most impartial justice. The youngest of these sons left also a son,



called Jugurtha, whom a concubine had brought him. The virtues of this young prince had rendered him the darling of the Numidians: he was a master of the most delicate wit, and solid judgment, and did not devote himself, as young men commonly do, to a life of luxury and pleasure: he used to exercise himself in all manly sports with the young nobility; and, though he exceeded them all in judgment and activity, he never appeared to pride himself on that consideration.

So conspicuous an assemblage of fine talents and perfections began to excite the jealousy of Micipsa, his father's eldest brother, who was then king of Numidia, and therefore resolved to ruin him. For this purpose, he gave Jugurtha, the command of the forces, which he sent to the Romans, who, at that time, were besieging Numantia, under the conduct of Scipio, flattering himself, that his natural impetuosity would hurry him into danger, and cause him to lose his life.

Micipsa was herein mistaken; for this young prince joined to an undaunted courage the utmost calmness of mind, and preserved so nice a conduct during the campaign, that he won the goodwill of the whole army; insomuch that Scipio, after the destruction of Numantia, sent him back to his uncle with letters filled with the highest compliments.

Micipsa now changed his opinion of his nephew, and determined if possible, to win his affections by kindness. He accordingly adopted him, and, by his last will, made him joint heir with his two sons. Happy would it have been for Jugurtha, had he, after the death of Micipsa, shewn the same love for virtue he had during his life-time; but he was one of those examples which shew that politicians do not rank gratitude in the number of their virtues.

At last, interest and ambition, those powerful motives to every evil action, prompted him to turn his thoughts on divesting the family of Micipsa of that right he was bound by the laws of gratitude to protect. Aspiring therefore to be sole monarch of Numidia, he resolved to destroy Hiempsal and Adherbal, the two young princes. Hiempsal he found means to get murdered, and this was the first victim he sacrificed to his ambition.

Adherbal, terrified at this wicked deed, fled with the utmost precipitation into his own province; and though not of a warlike disposition, he found himself obliged to take up arms, as well for his own security, as to revenge his brother's death. Jugurtha gave him battle, conquered him, and obliged him to fly. Adherbal, to save his life, was obliged to disguise himself, under the favour of which he hastened to the Roman senate, to implore their assistance.

Jugurtha was uneasy at Adherbal's escape, and the more so, as he had heard he was gone to Rome to claim their protection. He immediately sent ambassadors thither, with orders to bribe the principal senators, by which means they were soon brought off from Adherbal. Jugurtha therefore obtained every thing he wanted at present, and Lower Numidia only was allowed to Adherbal.

When every thing seemed to be amicably settled, Jugurtha, without paying the least regard to the late regulation made by the Romans, commenced hostilities against Adherbal, and, having reduced him to the utmost extremity, made him large promises on his surrender : but he no sooner saw himself master of the city, than he cut the Numidian garrison to pieces, and put Adherbal to death in the most cruel manner.

Various were the opinions of the Romans on this treacherous behaviour of Jugurtha. The most equitable senators thought the tyrant ought to be instantly destroyed ; but those, who had received his bribes, were of a different way of thinking. C. Memmius, who had been newly elected tribune of the people, and whose greatest care was to curb the authority of the great, made an elegant speech in the senate on this occasion, in which were the following very remarkable words : “ Integrity is quite banished from the senate, and justice is fled from it : money is the tyrant of Rome, and the people have fatally experienced, that gold is the only deity of the nobles ; these make a public traffic of their faith and their honour. The glory and interest of the state are now sunk into venality, the majesty of the empire has been betrayed, and the republic has been sold, both in the army, and in Rome itself.”

This speech had its proper effect, and the senators immediately ordered one of the consuls to cross into Africa, at the head of a powerful army. Long was this war, and various its successes ; Jugurtha being esteemed a second Hannibal. At last, he, who had been so long accustomed to treachery and deceit, was himself delivered up to the Romans by Bocchus, his father-in-law.

It is reported, that Jugurtha ran distracted as he was walking in chains to adorn the triumph of Marius. After the ceremony was ended, he was cast into prison, when the lictors were so eager to seize his robe, that they rent it in several pieces, and tore away the tips of his ears, to get the rich jewels, with which they were adorned. In this condition, he was thrown, stark naked, and in the utmost terror, into a deep dungeon, doomed to be his grave, where he lived six days struggling with hunger. The fruitless desire of prolonging life served as a punishment to a king, who had made no scruple to murder his relations and principal courtiers, whenever it tended to gratify his ambition.

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## CPAP. VII.

*From the Year of Rome 650, to the perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla.*

ABOUT the year of Rome 650, and but a short time after the defeat of Jugurtha, the consuls Mallius or Manlius, and Cæpio, who had been continued as proconsul, received a most severe shock on the banks of the Rhone, losing upwards of 80,000 men.

Manlius fell in the battle; but Cæpio, unadvisedly returning to Rome, was murdered, and his body thrown into the fields.

Two years afterwards Marius, who was now a fourth time elected consul, marched towards the Teutones, defeated them, and took Teutobobus, their king, prisoner, after a slaughter of 140,000 men. On this account Marius was a fifth time created consul.

In the mean time the Cimbri and Teutones, whose numbers were still immense, passed over into Italy. They were engaged by Caius Marius and Quintus Catullus, in which battle Catullus gained the greatest advantage, and besides 60,000 taken prisoners, above double that number were slain, whereby almost the whole nation was extirpated. Of the Roman soldiers, in both armies, 300 only were slain. Of the thirty-three standards taken from the Cimbri, Marius's party took only two, but Catullus's thirty-one. This put an end to the war, and a triumph was decreed both the consuls. In this battle, the wives of the Cimbri made an unparalleled resistance from their chariots; but, finding the battle desperate, they murdered all their children, and afterwards themselves, that they might not survive their loss.

Marius, after this, got himself elected consul a sixth time, and procured L. Valerius Flaccus to be chosen his colleague, in prejudice of Metellus, which he accomplished by the most shameful artifices. At this time, there was not the least freedom in elections, every thing being decided by corruption and venality, and, where that failed, violence was made use of. Rome, now entirely unlike what she formerly was, seems at this time to have been the seat of tyranny and oppression.

Caius Marius, now the sixth time consul, as just mentioned, kindled the first civil war in Rome. Sylla the consul, being sent to take upon him the management of the war against Mithridates, who had possessed himself of Asia and Achaia, and detaining his army a little in Campania, in order to extinguish the remains of a dangerous war, which had broke out in Italy, Marius attempted to get the command of the war against Mithridates. Sylla, being incensed at these proceedings, marched to Rome with his army, and there fought Marius Sulpicius. In this battle, he slew Sulpicius, and put Marius to flight: then, having settled Cæneus Octavius and Lucius Cornelius Cinna in the consularship for the succeeding year, he departed into Asia.

Mithridates, who was king of Pontus, and possessed Armenia the Lesser, and the whole circumference of the Pontic sea, with the Bosphorus, first attempted to expel Nicomedes, an ally of the Roman people, out of Bithynia, sending word to the senate, that he was preparing to make war upon him, on account of the injuries he had received at his hands.

The senate sent answer back to Mithridates, that, if he did he, himself should feel the weight of the Roman arms. Enraged at this reply, he immediately seized on Capadocia, expelling the king and ally of the Roman people thence. He then marched to Ephe-



sus, and dispatched circular letters into all parts of Asia, ordering, that wherever any Roman citizen should be found, they should be all put to death in one day.

In the mean time, Athens also, a city of Achaia, was delivered into the hands of Mithridates, by Ariston the Athenian; for Mithridates had dispatched his general into Achaia, with 120,000 horse and foot, by whom the rest of Greece was likewise seized. A battle being afterwards fought by the Romans and the army of Mithridates, the latter was so entirely defeated, that, out of 120,000, scarce 10,000 remained, whereas the Romans lost only 14,000: a loss, which, in those days of blood and slaughter, was deemed as nothing.

Mithridates, on receiving the news of this defeat, dispatched 70,000 select troops to his general, 20,000 of which were slain in the first battle, and in the second they were all cut off. The general was obliged to hide himself, for three days, naked in the fens; upon which Mithridates began to think of treating about peace with Sylla.

While Rome was all in confusion, being exasperated with the arbitrary conduct of Sylla, who was then employed in the wars in Asia, Marius lived in a kind of exile, in an island on the coast of Africa, whither he had fled with his son and some Roman senators, who followed his fortune. This unhappy Marius, being then seventy years of age, who had so long enjoyed the highest glory in Rome, had been forced to fly from that city on foot, unattended even by a single servant. After wandering some time in this deplorable condition, he was obliged, in order to secure himself from his pursuers, to retire into a fen, where he passed the whole night, standing up to his neck in mud.

At day-break he quitted his uncomfortable place of concealment, in order to reach the sea-shore, hoping to meet with some vessel to carry him out of Italy. However, he was soon known by the inhabitants of a neighbouring town, who seized him, and, putting a rope about his neck, naked and covered with dirt as he was dragged him to prison; when the magistrates, in obedience to the order of the senate, immediately sent a public slave to kill him.

Marius, as soon as he saw the slave enter, guessed on what errand he came, by the naked sword he held in his hand. Marius then cried out, with a voice of authority, "Barbarous wretch, dar'est thou to assassinate Caius Marius?" The slave, terrified at the name of a man, so formidable to his nation, threw down his sword, and ran out of prison in the utmost terror and confusion, crying, "It will be impossible for me to kill Marius!" The magistrates looked upon the timidity of this slave, as a testimony of the gods to preserve the life of that great man: "Let him go (said they) wherever the fates may conduct him, and let the decree of the senate take place against him in any other spot than this. We only beseech the gods to forgive us, if a superior authority forces us to drive from our city, the man who formerly secured all Italy from the incursions of the barbarians." They afterwards provided

him with a ship, which carried him to the island of Ænaria. This is one of the many instances that may be produced, that nothing so much procures us assistance under our misfortunes, as bearing up against them with boldness and intrepidity. Had Marius acted the weak or effeminate part at this time, he must have fallen a sacrifice to the unnatural war then carrying on in his country.

Marius being informed that his son was fled to the court of the king of Numidia, he sailed for Africa; but a storm arising, he was obliged to put into Sicily, where new dangers awaited him. Scarce had he got on shore, when a Roman quæstor, who commanded in that country, attempted to seize him; but Marius escaped to his ship, after losing sixteen of his attendants, who sacrificed themselves to save him.

After some days sail he arrived in Africa, and landed near Carthage. Sextilius was then prætor of that province; and as he had never given him any umbrage, he had no reason to expect an enemy in him; but he had not been there many days, when a lictor came, and ordered him, in the prætor's name, to leave the country, otherwise he must expect to be treated as an enemy to the Romans.

Marius, enraged to find that a resting-place was no where allowed him, and that not even a corner was left him to hide his head in, gazed upon the lictor in deep silence. At last, an answer being demanded, "Tell thy master," said he, "that thou hast seen Marius banished from his native country, and sitting on the ruins of Carthage." It should seem as though, by comparing his misfortunes with those of the mighty empire of the Carthaginians, he thereby would remind the prætor of the instability of all human things.

Notwithstanding the severity of the season, he submitted himself again to the ocean, and spent part of the winter in roving up and down those seas. However, a short time after, we see Marius, Cinna, Carbo, and Sertorius, marching at the head of an army to block up Rome. Sylla being at too great a distance to be recalled, the senate sent for Cecilius Metellus, a very brave and experienced general.

Rome was now in the utmost confusion, and the senate, to put an end to these distractions, sent a deputation to Cinna, by which they recognized him as consul; upon which Metellus finding affairs grow desperate, he withdrew to Liguira. Cinna then entered the city first, attended by his guards, after having made a solemn promise, not to put any person to death in an illegal manner. Marius, after having halted at the gates some time, and there pretended a reverence to the laws, at last threw off the veil, which concealed his blood-thirsty soul, and rushing into the city with a party of soldiers, immediately butchered those he had marked out for destruction. Several illustrious senators were murdered in the streets, and made the first victims to the inglorious revenge of Marius. He ordered their heads to be set upon the Rostra, and, as though he wished to extend his vengeance even beyond the



grave, he ordered the mangled bodies to be left in the streets, that they might be devoured by the dogs : so soon had he forgot how much he himself so lately stood in need of pity !

Among the multitude who fell in this bloody massacre was Octavius the consul, who was killed in his tribunal ; and Merula, the priest of Jupiter, hearing that he was proscribed, ordered his veins to be cut open, that his enemies might not have the cruel satisfaction of prescribing the mode of his execution. Afterwards fell Mark Antony, a senator of consular dignity, who, by the charms of his eloquence, defended himself a considerable time against the fury of the soldiers ; and Catullus suffocated himself by the smoke of coals. The furious multitude of slaves, whom Marius had appointed the bloody instruments of his inhuman revenge, murdered the fathers of families, plundered houses, ravished women, and forced away children : at the least signal given by their inglorious leader, they butchered any person, and he even commanded them to kill all those whose salute he did not return.

Marius, having now glutted himself with the blood of his fellow citizens, and a kind of calm succeeding this horrible storm, he began to revolve in his mind his former misfortunes, and the dangers he had experienced both by sea and land. These reflections were aggravated by the apprehension of Sylla's return, when, in all human probability, he should be again reduced to the like calamities. To drive these horrible images from his mind he took to drinking, but the excess he gave into brought on him a pleurisy, of which he died in his seventh consulate, no man having enjoyed that office so many times, and in the seventieth year of his age.

Young Marius, inheriting both the power and cruelty of his father, immediately put to death several senators, who had escaped the first fury of the proscription. While matters were in this disorder and confusion at Rome, where they were taking all possible steps to destroy Sylla, that general was conquering Mithridates, with whom he concluded a peace on such terms as Sylla prescribed them, and then marched for Rome.

In the year of Rome 667, on the report of Sylla being on his march to the city, Cinna and Carbo, who were then consuls, raised a powerful army to oppose him, but a mutiny happening in that division of the army commanded by Cinna, that general was run through the body. After his death Carbo enjoyed the consulate alone the remaining part of the year.

Sylla being come to the sea-shore of Asia, his whole army bound themselves to him by a fresh oath. He then embarked, and landed safe at Brundisium, without meeting with the least opposition. While his troops were refreshing themselves, there he was joined by Metellus, at the head of a great body of new levied forces, and also by Marcus Crassus, who shared with Sylla in all the glory and danger of this war ; but, of all the succours Sylla was favoured with on this occasion, none gave him so much satisfaction as that brought him by Pompey, called afterwards Pompey the Great, and at that time scarce twenty-three years of age. His army consist-



ed of three legions, and he had been forced to fight his way to Sylla, after having given Brutus, a leader in the other party, a signal overthrow. Sylla received Pompey with the highest marks of distinction, and gave him the title of *Imperator*, notwithstanding he had not yet sat in the senate.

In the year of Rome 671, Carbo, being elected consul a third time, with young Marius, in the spring both armies took the field. Being come in sight of each other, Marius offered battle to Sylla, who accepted the challenge. Both parties fought with incredible bravery, and victory was long in doubt, till Sylla found means to corrupt five cohorts, which turned out to the disadvantage of Marius, who displayed in the battle all the capacity of a veteran general, and the intrepid valour of a young officer: he often rallied his troops; returned to the charge, and was one of the last who retired. Sylla, having now blocked up Marius in Præneste, set out for Rome at the head of a detachment; and, on his arrival there, the gates were opened to him.

After having settled matters in Rome to his own mind, he returned to the siege of Præneste. Marius finding it impossible for him to escape, slew himself, after which Sylla put all the inhabitants of Præneste to the sword, the women and children excepted. Sylla then entered Rome at the head of his triumphant army, and his lieutenants possessed themselves of all the cities in Italy. Such was the conclusion of these lamentable civil wars, which lasted ten years, and occasioned the destruction of more than 150,000 men, twenty-four of consular dignity, seven of pratorian, sixty of ædilitian, and near three hundred senators.

Sylla no sooner found himself in the absolute possession of Rome, than he commenced the tyrant, and perpetrated the most shocking cruelties. He caused an inhuman massacre to be made of 6000 men, who had fled to that city, to avoid the death with which they were threatened. Not long after, he caused to be posted up in the forum the names of forty senators, and 1600 knights, all of whom he proscribed. Two days after, he proscribed the like number of senators, and a multitude of the wealthiest citizens of Rome, merely for the sake of their effects.

Such slaves as had assassinated their masters were largely recompensed for their treachery; and, to the immortal scandal of Sylla, children were seen, their hands reeking with the blood of their fathers, coming to ask a horrid reward for having murdered them. Quintus Aurelius, a peaceable citizen, who had always lived in a happy obscurity, without being known to either Marius or Sylla, was proscribed and murdered, for the sake of a fine house he had built in Alba. Nothing was now heard of every day but new proscriptions, and no man was sure one hour that he should not be massacred the next.

Sylla then seized on all the possessions, houses, and territories of such cities of Italy as had, in the course of the civil war, sided with Marius, and gave them to his soldiers, thereby binding them the stronger to his fortune and interests. After this, he caused

himself to be created perpetual dictator, and, in this manner, the unhappy Romans fell again under the tyranny of one man.



## CHAP. VIII.

*From the perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla, to the Birth of Augustus Cæsar.*

SYLLA, being now appointed perpetual dictator, changed the form of government to his own liking; he abolished the old laws, enacted new ones, seized upon the public treasury, and disposed of every thing just as he pleased. He was as liberal to his friends as he was implacable and cruel to his enemies, enriching the former with the plunder of the state, and inhumanely butchering the latter.

There is something very amazing in the character of Sylla, who, after having three years reigned with a kind of absolute dominion in Rome, and when there was no power to oppose his will, in the year of Rome 675, resigned the honour of dictator, and, to the surprize of all the world, reduced himself to the condition of a private citizen, without fearing the just resentment of those illustrious families, whose chiefs he had butchered in the most cruel manner. It was not long before, that he appointed twenty-four lictors, with their fasces and axes, and a strong body-guard, to attend him constantly; but we now see him walking unguarded in the forum with some of his friends, in the presence of thousands of the people, who, struck with astonishment, considered this unexpected change as a prodigy.

He returned home in the evening, unattended, and as a private man; and, though his conduct must have raised him a multiplicity of enemies, not one person dared to insult him, except a young man who imprudently made use of some scurrilous language. Sylla, however took no farther notice of it than saying, in a kind of prophetic strain, that behaviour like this would deter any man, who should arrive at a high pitch of power, from resigning it.

The Romans in general considered this resignation as the highest mark of magnanimity: they endeavoured to forget the remembrance of his horrid proscriptions, and in some degree pardoned the many murders he had been the cause of, since he had at last restored liberty to his oppressed country. There were those, however, who, with some reason, ascribed his resignation to the perpetual alarms he was in, lest there should be one Roman, who had still virtue enough left to hazard his own life in destroying a monster, who had been the death of so many illustrious citizens.

Sylla, however, after shedding so much human blood, died peaceably in his bed; but his body was putrified, and turned into lice. Historians do not agree concerning the disorder of which

he died, and which only could account for this extraordinary incident. He wrote his own epitaph a few days before he expired, which shews that he had sense enough, in spite of his insatiable thirst for riches and power, which drew a veil over the finest understandings, to be sensible of the character he deserved, and in which every succeeding age have agreed. The purport of his epitaph was, "No man ever did more good offices to his friends : no man ever was more cruel to his enemies." His body was carried in great pomp through Rome, and was the first which was burnt in that city, in order to prevent its being treated like that of Marius, whose bones, by Sylla's orders, were dug up and scattered about. Upon the whole, inglorious revenge seems to have been the darling passion of Sylla.

After the death of Sylla, Rome was again disturbed by civil contentions, which no one had dared to attempt while Sylla was living. Ambition, and the thirst after honours and power, are not always centered in the man who has abilities to support them ; the weak and the giddy think they can do as much as the knowing and experienced, till they find their mistake in their ruin. I shall, however, pass over these matters, and hasten to a circumstance, which seems to have given the Romans no small trouble, and which may serve to convince us, how perilous it is to treat the mere appearance of danger with indifference.

About the year of Rome 680, a gladiator of great bravery, whose name was Spartacus, having escaped from Capua, with seventy of his companions, exhorted them to sacrifice their lives for the defence of their liberties, rather than serve as spectacles to the inhumanity of their patrons. Then wandering through the neighbouring countries, and increasing their number, they commenced a dangerous war in Italy.

The senate despising Spartacus, sent at first but a few troops, headed by two prætors, to subdue him, thinking it beneath the dignity of the commonwealth to oppose the legions to a herd of slaves and vagabonds, Spartacus, however, cut them all to pieces, which surprised and exasperated the senate.

The affair became now a very serious matter, and the consuls each at the head of a very considerable army, were ordered to march against them. These magistrates inconsiderately persuading themselves, that a body of slaves and vagabonds would not dare to look the legions in the face, marched very carelessly to meet the enemy, who, taking a proper advantage of their negligence, made so skilful a choice of the field of battle, that the Romans were put to the flight. The consuls rallied them some time after, and came to a second engagement ; but, to their disappointment and disgrace, were again repulsed.

Spartacus, having gained this victory over the legions, soon found himself at the head of 120,000 peasants, slaves, and deserters, who, having no ideas of honour or humanity, spread horror and desolation wherever they went. This domestic war having raged three years in Italy, the senate gave the command of the



Roman army to Cinnius Crassus, who soon gave a new face to the appearance of the war.

Crassus soon restored good discipline among the troops, and convinced the Romans, that, under his command, they must either conquer or die. The rebels were at first surprized, and 20,000 of them cut to pieces, as they were out on a party of foraging; after which their army, commanded by Spartacus himself, was defeated in a pitched battle: however, he determined once more to try the fate of arms, and accordingly very skilfully drew up his forces in order of battle. A horse being brought him just before the battle, he drew his sword, killed it, and then, turning about to his soldiers, said, "If I am victorious I shall not want a horse; and if we are defeated, I will not make use of one."

This reply so animated his soldiers, that they fought with the utmost fury, and victory remained doubtful for a long time; but, at last, the valour of the legions carried every thing before it. A terrible slaughter was made of these vagabonds: Spartacus himself being wounded in the thigh by a javelin, defended himself obstinately on his knees, holding his shield in one hand, and his sword with the other; but, being at last covered with wounds, he fell on a heap, either of Romans whom he had sacrificed to his fury, or of his own soldiers, who had lost their lives in defending him. Such of them as escaped were afterwards all cut to pieces by Pompey, who met them in his return from Spain.

About this time, anno 682, Rome was found to contain 450,000 free citizens, notwithstanding the long and bloody wars they had been engaged in. Learning and the polite arts, gained ground considerably, and with them corruption, faction, pride and effeminacy.

In the mean time the war was going on against Mithridates, who had fled to Tigranes, king of Armenia. It may not be amiss here to mention one instance of the vanity and ostentation of this Armenian king. Having obtained some conquests, he was grown so insupportably proud, that he obliged four kings, whom he had taken prisoners, to run by his side, like so many footmen; and, when he was seated on his throne, made them stand before him in a dejected posture, with unfolded arms.—Deluded Tigranes, blinded with vanity and presumption, you could not reflect on the short duration of human life, and that even that life, short as it is, is every moment producing unexpected vicissitudes! You could not foresee, that you, who then thought yourself a god, would, in a short time, be conquered by the Roman Lucullus; that your own capitol would be taken by that general, and yourself driven to distress! Happy those, whom misfortunes teach wisdom! but happier those whose wisdom prevents them!

About the year of Rome 684, Crassus and Pompey being elected consuls, each endeavoured to excel the other in the affections of the people, not on laudable, but on ambitious motives. Crassus, in order to gain them to his interest, ordered a thousand tables to be spread, and gave an entertainment to the whole city.

At the same time, he distributed among the lower sort of people corn sufficient to subsist them three months. Crassus was immensely rich; and, by such public and liberal artifices, the great men in Rome purchased the votes of the people.

Pompey, on his side, in order to ingratiate himself with the tribunes of the people, restored to those magistrates all the authority of which Sylla had deprived them. Thus these ambitious men in turn sported with the laws; increased the power of the senate one moment, and in the next, that of the people, just as it suited their different interests. Pompey, however, carried his point; for the tribunes soon after, gave him the command against some pirates who infested the coast of Cilicia, and invested him with absolute authority. He was allowed 500 ships, 120,000 foot, 5000 horse, 6000 Attic talents, and the power of choosing fifteen lieutenants out of the senate.

With these forces Pompey took near 400 ships and 120 forts, killing 10,000 men.—Thus, in one campaign, he put an end to the war, behaving with great clemency towards the vanquished, and was honoured with a triumph. Pompey was now so high in esteem with the people, that they took from Lucullus the command of the army in Asia, then employed against Mithridates, and gave it to him. Indeed, Pompey was now raised by the people to as high a pitch of power as ever Sylla had acquired by his sword.

Notwithstanding all the cabals which were raised at Rome against Lucullus, in favour of Pompey, the former on his return was honoured with a triumph; for he brought with him, among other spoils, a great number of valuable books, of which he composed a library. At his triumph were exhibited things of immense value, and in particular a statue of Mithridates, of solid gold, six feet high, and his shield, enriched with a great number of precious stones. After his triumph, he ingloriously sunk into luxury and effeminacy.

Pompey, in the mean time, pushed Mithridates closely; and, having defeated him in several battles, obliged him to fly from place to place for shelter. The time too was now come, when Tigranes, that proud and haughty king of Armenia, was to be convinced, that the tide of human affairs does not always carry us through the flowery meadows of prosperity. Tigranes, being reduced to the utmost extremities, went and threw himself at the Roman general's feet, gave him his diadem, and sued for peace. Pompey returned the monarch his crown, and granted him peace upon certain conditions, which were gladly complied with. Pompey seems to have differed very much from many of the Roman generals, as he does not appear to have added cruelty to ambition.

In the year of Rome, 689, Pompey crossed mount Taurus, and directed his march against Darius, the Mede, and Antiochus, king of Syria, for molesting the Roman allies, or succouring their enemies. Much about this time, Mithridates sent to Pompey to sue for peace. Pompey sent back for answer, that if he intended



to make peace with him, he must come himself in person. Mithridates could not persuade himself to this, and therefore renewed his warlike preparations. After this several of his garrisons revolted; and many of his friends, with one of his sons, suffered death on the occasion.

Mithridates determined to cross into Europe, to advance into Italy, and there make the same havock as Hannibal had done before him; but his soldiers, terrified at the dangers it threatened, refused to follow him: they looked upon him as a desperate prince who, rather than live in obscurity, was determined to die with glory. These mighty projects he had thus formed, hastened his ruin; for his son, Pharnaces, taking the advantage of this temper of the troops, stirred them up to rebellion, and got himself proclaimed king.

Mithridates perceiving this from an upper room, sent a messenger, desiring that he might have leave to depart; but his son sent him back this base and unnatural answer, that he must die. Mithridates, justly exasperated with this answer, uttered many terrible imprecations, and wished that his son might one day receive the same message from his own offspring. How terrible must be the reflection, that this son, whom he had tenderly loved and intended for his successor, was the very person who pronounced his destruction. And now, rather than fall into the hands of the Romans, life being become insupportable, he determined to dispatch himself.

He first gave poison to his wives, his daughters, and his concubines, who all swallowed the fatal draught without the least murmuring, and then swallowed a dose himself; but, as he had been accustomed to take antidotes, this had no effect on him. He then begged an officer, his attendant, to kill him, who run him through the body. Thus ended the Mithridatic war, having continued twenty-five years; after which all his dominions were added to the Roman empire.

Pompey was at that time marching towards Jerusalem, and Gabinus, Pompey's lieutenant, having already taken the city, there remained only the citadel to attack, which was vigorously defended by a party that had retired thither. Pompey invested it the day after his arrival; and, having lain before it three months, carried it on a sabbath-day, and that with the greatest ease; for the Jews would not take up arms, even in their own defence, on that day.

Pompey went into the temple at the time the sacrifices were performing, and cut to pieces 12,000 Jews. He and many of his followers entered the Holy of Holies, where he viewed those things, which none but the priests were allowed to behold. However, he shewed so much veneration for the place, that he forbore touching any thing. Judea was reduced under the consulship of Cicero, the same year that Augustus Cæsar was born.



## CHAP. IX.

*From the Birth of Augustus Cæsar to the Beginning of the first Triumvirate.*

SOON after the birth of Augustus Cæsar, one of the most dangerous conspiracies broke out that had ever threatened Rome. At the head of this conspiracy was Lucius Sergius Cataline, who was descended from a very illustrious patrician family of great antiquity. He had been brought up amidst the tumults and disorders of a civil war, and had been the instrument of the cruelties of Sylla, to whom he was devoted. Cataline had been accused of debauching a vestal virgin, and was even suspected of murdering his son for the love of another woman. Destitute of either morals or probity, he discovered not the least veneration for the gods; and, being ever disgusted with the present, was always unhappy with respect to the future.

Though master of a few abilities, he was bold, rash, and intrepid, and had not even prudence enough properly to conceal his own infernal designs, where it was necessary he should to prevent their miscarriage. As extravagance is the first cause of the violation of all laws, so Cataline, having contracted vast debts, and being unable to pay them, grew desperate, and aimed at nothing less than the highest and most lucrative employments. For this purpose, he associated himself with those young Romans, whose excesses in the freedom of wine, women, and gaming, had ruined their fortunes, and rendered them the contempt of every discerning person in the city.

These abandoned wretches formed a horrid conspiracy to murder the consuls, and put to death the greatest part of the senators. Even the day was fixed, which was to have given birth to the most infamous attempt that ever happened in the commonwealth, since the foundation of Rome. At the signal given by Cataline, they were to rush upon the consuls and murder them; but, being too hasty in his signal, it was not obeyed; and thus the massacre was put off till another time.

Several women, of the greatest families in Rome, who were no less remarkable for their libertinism than their beauty, engaged in this plot out of complaisance to their lovers. Among these, was the famous Sempronia, who was as bold as she was beautiful; she was a perfect mistress of both the Greek and Latin tongues, and could sing and dance to more advantage than became a virtuous woman; nor was she wanting in any of those charms, which are capable of lighting up a passion. The only use she made of them, was to pass away her days in riot and excess; and she had been accused of being accessory to more than one murder.

This conspiracy was daily strengthened by all the young people in Rome, who, having been rocked in the cradle of luxury, and en-

ervated by a continual succession of pleasures ; such as had ruined themselves by excesses ; and were no longer able to support their extravagancies ; the ambitious, who aspired to the highest posts of the state ; and others, who had revenge, which they wanted to gratify on some superior ; all these, actuated by different passions, embarked in the cause of Cataline, who made them the largest promises, and at the same time exhorted them to employ their interest to procure his being elected consul. No time could better suit the conspirators, as Pompey was then engaged in a war in the East, and Italy had no army to protect it.

Cicero, however, who was then consul, found means to bribe Fulvia, a lady of an illustrious family, which she dishonoured by her criminal amours with one of the chief of the conspirators. From this woman, Cicero got such information, as enabled him to counteract all Cataline's projects. Soon after, Cicero accused Cataline, while he was present in the senate, of his impious design ; but he endeavoured to quit himself of the charge. Finding he could not bring the senators to his way of thinking, and being called by them an enemy and a parricide, he cried, in a furious tone of voice, " Since snares are every where laid for me, and those, to whom I am odious, exasperate me beyond measure, I will not perish singly, but involve my enemies in my ruin."

Cataline, having spoken these words, flew out of the senate-house, and sending for the chief conspirators, he told them what had passed. Then, exhorting them to murder the consul, he left Rome the next night, accompanied by three hundred of his companions, and went and joined Manlius. He caused lictors, with fasces and axes, to walk before him ; as though he had really been a magistrate. Upon the news of this insurrection, the senate ordered Antonius, the consul, to march the legions against the rebels, and Cicero to look after the care and peace of the city.

Soon afterwards, Lentulus, Cethegus, Gabinius, and two more, who were principals in the conspiracy, were arrested, convicted, and conveyed to different prisons. The contest in the senate was long and warm, what kind of punishment should be inflicted on them : it was, however, at last resolved, that they should be put to death ; and Cicero, upon the bare sentence of the senate, and without submitting the matter to the people, as was usual, ordered them to be executed in the different prisons, in which they were confined. These executions at once crushed the plot, and overturned all the designs of the conspirators, who had that night resolved to rescue them from their confinement, that they might immediately join Cataline.

News being brought to Cataline's camp of the late execution, great numbers of his soldiers abandoned him in the night ; but Cataline was no ways disconcerted or disheartened at this ; for he was determined either to ruin the commonwealth, or perish in the attempt. He thereupon raised new forces, filled the cohorts with them, and soon completed the legions, which were all inflamed with the same passion for blood and slaughter, and the destruction



of their native country. By the good management of the consul, Cataline at last found himself surrounded by the enemy, and that his retreat was cut off; he therefore resolved to hazard a battle, though he was considerably inferior in number.

Petreius, who had served thirty years in the field, and from a private soldier had been made a general, commanded for the republic, in the room of the consul, who was suddenly taken ill. He engaged Cataline with the greatest bravery, and the battle was sustained on both sides with the utmost intrepidity. Petreius was at last victorious, and the rebels were all put to the sword; but Cataline, who could not bear the thoughts of surviving the ruin of his party, rushed into that part of the battle, where death was making the greatest havock, and there fell a victim to his own folly and iniquity. He was afterwards found among the dead and mangled bodies of the rebels, which lay in heaps. On his pale and lifeless face was still pictured the haughty ferocity of his soul, which even death could not extinguish.

In the year 692, Pompey returned to Rome, having spent five years in his expedition, and acquired the greatest glory by military exploits. As soon as he reached the borders of Italy, he sent back his army, that he might not give either the senate or the people room to suspect him of any ambitious views on the commonwealth; by which means he obtained the honours of a triumph with universal approbation.

This triumph lasted two days, and therein were exhibited the names of fifteen conquered kingdoms, eight hundred cities, &c. Among the captives were the king of Judea, and the wives and children of several other kings. Innumerable trophies were likewise exposed, and among them a statute of Pharnaces, of solid silver; also chariots of the same metal, tables of gold, and thirty-three pearl crowns of inestimable value. To complete the grandeur of the show, Pompey's car was drawn by elephants. It appeared from Pompey's accounts, that he had improved the revenue of the republic to the value of 120,000 talents, besides the very large sums he had distributed among the meanest of his troops.

After this, Pompey was seldom seen in public; and, whenever he came out of his house, he was attended with such a number of his dependants, that one would have taken him rather for an Eastern emperor, than a Roman citizen; but, as Rome was a free city, every thing disgusted them which had the appearance of royalty, and this disgust was hinted to Pompey, who, having so many years been accustomed to command armies, could not persuade himself to appear as a common citizen. His manners and conduct in almost every other respect, were pure and unsullied, and he was talked of as remarkable for his temperance. No one accused him of avarice, and, in the dignities he aspired to, power was not so much his pursuit, as the splendour with which they were surrounded. Vanity was his predominant passion, and this led him to seek those honours, which might distinguish him above all the commanders of those times. Moderate in every thing else, any competition with him in glory was insupportable.



No wonder that a foible of this nature made him a number of enemies amidst such a warlike people ; but, of that number, Cæsar was afterwards the most dangerous and implacable. The one could not bear the thoughts of an equal, nor the other a superior, and this unhappy disposition in these two great men, was the source of new troubles.

Julius Cæsar was esteemed the handsomest man in those times, and was skilled in all kind of exercises ; he was indefatigable, brave, and generous to excess, but withal ambitious. Nature, which seemed to have formed him for the government of mankind, had given him such an air of empire, as added dignity to his deportment, which was softened by a sweet and engaging carriage. The insinuating and invincible thunder of his eloquence resulted more from the gracefulness of his person than the strength of his arguments ; and he began by insinuating himself into the hearts of the people, as the surest means of obtaining those honours to which he aspired.

Cæsar, though born only a private citizen, had, from his youth, formed a design of one day raising himself to that power, which might enable him to give laws to the commonwealth ; nor was he at least intimidated when he reflected on the danger of so great an attempt. Marius and Sylla were uppermost in his thoughts, and their example taught him, that there was nothing, which bravery and resolution could not conquer. Happily for him, he was prudent, even in these immoderate designs, and waited patiently till proper opportunities offered themselves.

In the seventeenth year of his age he was made high-priest of Jupiter ; and, after having carried his arms into Asia, at his return went to Rhodes, to complete his studies under Apollonius Melo. From thence he returned to Rome, where he was created military tribune, and a little after, quæstor. In this capacity he was sent into Spain, in order to visit the assemblies, and administer justice. As he passed through Cadiz, he visited the temple of Hercules, and seeing there the picture of Alexander the Great, he wept on reflecting, that he had done no glorious action, at an age in which that king had subdued the world.

While Cæsar was in Spain, he employed his whole time in extending its frontiers, and carried his arms into Gallicia and Lusitania, which he made a Roman province. He was not, however, forgetful of his own private interest ; for he extorted all the gold and silver he could get at in those provinces, and, on his return to Rome ; was received with the universal acclamations of the people.

Cæsar, being now returned to Rome, put up for the consulate, when he lavished the wealth he had amassed in Spain, in getting new creatures, to whom his house was open at all times, and from whom he concealed nothing but his heart. He found, however, that the affections of the people singly would not be sufficient for his purpose, and he concluded it would be impossible for him ever to arrive at sovereign authority, unless he obtained the command of the armies, and could procure a great number of friends, and even a

party in the senate. The assembly was then divided between Pompey and Crassus, who were competitors for the government.

Cæsar now resolved, as the only probable means he had at present of arriving at power, to endeavour to reconcile Pompey and Crassus, and unite himself with them. He succeeded in his design, and these three men now agreed, that nothing should be transacted in the republic in opposition to their respective interests, or without their approbation; and this they confirmed with the most solemn oaths.

In this manner was formed the first grand triumvirate, which totally subverted both the consular and popular state, the whole power being now vested in the hands of the three greatest men in Rome, as to valour, authority and riches. Thus fell the liberty of Rome, owing to venality and corruption, after having made such an illustrious figure for so many ages. It is no wonder, that it was soon after plunged into the greatest miseries, as it was impossible the triumviri should long agree together. It is true, they had sworn to support each other's interest; but oaths are only the foot-stool of ambition, which they trample on the moment it can assist them to climb higher.

This triumvirate was formed about fifty-eight years before the birth of our Saviour, and in the year of Rome 694, at which time the Roman dominions were almost unlimited, containing all Italy, the greatest part of Gallicia, all Spain, Africa, Greece, and Illyricum; all the kingdoms of Asia Minor, with Syria, Judæa, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia. So great was the grandeur of Rome at this time, that it was at once the dread and admiration of the whole world: her lands were fertile, her generals invincible, and her revenues inexhaustible; her inhabitants were innumerable, and she was become the favourite seat of the muses and the polite arts. But, alas! she was distempered by feuds, jealousies, and factions, and it was easy to foresee, that the union of these three great men could not be of long duration, and that the breaking of that knot was big with the most disastrous events.

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## CHAP. X.

*From the Commencement of the Triumvirate to the Year of Rome, 706.*

ROME became now a prey to the ambition of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, by whose authority all employments in the commonwealth were arbitrarily filled up just as they pleased. Crassus was insatiable in the pursuit of riches, having no other idol than gold; Pompey lived in ease and indolence, contented with the bare name of greatness and power; while Cæsar was indefatigable in strengthening his own party, and lessening that of the other two; but this he did with so much art as to give neither of them umbrage.

Cæsar and Bibulus being now elected consuls, the former confirmed all Pompey's acts, according to an agreement between them. He now set about artfully sowing a division between Pompey and the senate, and the senate and the people, and preferred a law, for dividing certain lands in Campania among 20,000 of the poorer citizens, who had three children or more. This proposal gave high satisfaction to the plebians, and Cæsar had it drawn up in such plausible and just terms, as left but little room for controverting it. The senate, however, opposed it strongly, but Pompey and Crassus both approved it; and the former being asked his opinion by the senate, declared, that should any man oppose it with his drawn sword, he would not only unsheath his own, but take up a shield also. The law, however, passed, and Pompey, by his last speech, rendered himself completely odious to the senate.

From this period, Cæsar troubled the senate very little; and his colleague, Bibulus, was driven out of the forum by the populace, who broke his fasces, and wounded his lictors, after which he dared not to appear any more in public. In the mean time Cæsar managed every thing, and disposed matters just as he pleased. The government of Syria was afterwards given to Crassus, which he had requested, in hopes of acquiring additional riches; and Spain was allotted to Pompey, which he governed by his lieutenants, not being able to persuade himself to abandon the pleasures of Rome. Thus these three men divided the world among them, as though it had been their natural inheritance.

Cato in vain exclaimed against this prostitution of the commonwealth; whom Cæsar found means to put under an arrest, nor were Lucullus and Cicero much better treated. The abilities of Cicero had offended Cæsar, who was now bent on his ruin; and, for this purpose, he even condescended to associate himself with Clodius, Cicero's mortal enemy, and got him elected one of the tribunes, though he had, but a short time before, been accused of criminal conversation with Cæsar's wife.

In consequence of this, Cicero was soon afterwards accused before the people of having illegally put to death Lentullus, Cethegus, and the rest of the conspirators, contrary to law. Cicero, now seeing the danger to which he was exposed, forgot himself so far, as to dress himself meanly, and, letting his beard and hair grow, went about the city imploring the protection of the great men; but, at last, finding himself deserted, he found he must either take up arms or quit Rome; which last Cato, and the rest of his friends, advised him to. He accordingly left the city in the night time, and went to Sicily. Clodius then banished him, by the votes of the people, 400 miles from Italy, demolished all his houses, and disposed of his goods by public sale.

After sixteen months banishment Cicero was recalled, when all the cities through which he passed, paid him such singular honours, as in some measure to represent a continual triumph; and, when he approached Rome, the equites, and all the people, went out to congratulate him on his return.



Cæsar now chose the government of Gaul, that being an object which would afford him an opportunity of displaying his valour and military skill, hoping, at the same time, to enrich himself with the plunder of that country. His first battle, about the year of Rome 696, was with the Helvetians or Swiss, whose army consisted of upwards of 300,000 men, whom he entirely defeated, leaving them hardly 100,000. In this battle their wives and children fought with the greatest obstinacy, till they were all entirely demolished.

He afterwards entered Germany, where he carried every thing before him; and, in the following year, turned his arms against the Belgeæ, who inhabited a part of Gaul, and was considered as the most formidable people in those parts. Their army consisted of near 300,000 men, when he attacked them, and obtained a complete victory. He then turned his arms against the Nervii, who attacking his troops unexpectedly, broke his cavalry, and surrounding two of his legions, killed his officers, and would have cut them all to pieces, had not Cæsar come to their assistance. The Nervii, however, were all of them at last demolished. The fame of Cæsar's military exploits being every where spread, many nations sent ambassadors, and submitted themselves to him.

In the year of Rome 698, Cæsar took up his head-quarters at Laura in Italy, where a multitude of people went to pay him their respects, and among them near 400 senators, prætors, and proconsuls. The same year Pompey and Crassus were chosen consuls, more by the force of arms than any other means, who continued Cæsar five years longer in the government of Gaul.

The next year, having made some conquests in Germany, he returned to Gaul, and resolved to cross into Britain, which was so very hazardous an enterprize, that none but Cæsar would have attempted it. Of all the difficulties, that of a pretence for his intended invasion was the least. Cæsar embarked with two legions, and coming to Dover cliffs, as is generally imagined, he saw them covered with troops. He stayed there some hours, till he was joined by the other ships, and then sailed two leagues farther, whither the Britons followed him with their chariots and cavalry. After moving towards the coast, as the Romans delayed to plunge into the water, their vessels not being able to get near enough the shore, the standard-bearer of the tenth legion leaped in, and cried out aloud, "Follow me, fellow soldiers; unless you will suffer the Roman eagle to fall into the hands of the enemy." Animated with this singular mark of courage, the soldiers followed him, and blood and slaughter ensued.

The Britons instantly attacked the Romans, and fought in the water with so much resolution, that, in all probability, the latter must have been repulsed, had not Cæsar taken care to supply them; from time to time, with fresh recruits. The Britons, overcome by numbers, were at last obliged to give way, and the Romans so well improved this advantage, that they at last put them to flight. Being now terrified at the Roman valour, they sued for peace, which

Cæsar granted them. A favourable opportunity afterwards happening, the Britons again took to arms ; but, being a second time defeated, were once more reduced to sue for peace.

During this interval, the senate being informed of what Cæsar had done in Britain, gave orders for a solemn festival to be held in honour of him, which was to continue twenty days. All this mighty parade was granted him for an action, which was of little consequence to the commonwealth, but occasioned the slaughter of some thousands of men. Thus Cæsar, and even the Roman senate, thought nothing of sacrificing the lives of mortals to their false ambition, and the vain love of momentary glory.

In the year of Rome 700, Cæsar resolved on a second expedition to Britain, and accordingly made all the preparations necessary for that expedition. He landed without opposition ; and, though the Britons were successful in some attacks, they were entirely defeated at last.

If we take a critical review of Cæsar, we shall find, that the commonwealth had never given birth to a more able commander ; though it must be owned, at the same time, that his unbounded ambition, and his insatiable thirst after riches, which he courted for the sake of corrupting those who might oppose his designs, sullied the glory of all his conquests. Venality prevailed in the camp, and he plundered even the temples of the gods, nor spared the allies of the Romans. Cato, and the rest of the senators, wished to bring him to an account, but the magnificence of his conquests, the blindness of the people, and the senators he had bribed, overturned every attempt of this nature. So far from punishing him for his crimes, sacrifices were offered to the gods for his sacrilegious actions, and his vices were considered as virtues.

Pompey now began to see his mistake, and resolved, if possible, to ruin Cæsar, whose elevation he considered himself as the sole cause of. He had already a great ascendancy over the senate ; and, in order to ingratiate himself with the people, he built a magnificent theatre, in which plays and other spectacles were exhibited. As it was in Rome, so it is now with almost every other state : the great sometimes condescend to shew the vulgar a favour, with no other view, than that they may assist them in their ambitious designs, which, when obtained, prove the ruin of those that were the cause of it. Those in power use tyranny and oppression ; those who want to obtain it, flattery and deceit.

In the mean time, Crassus being on his march plundered the temple of Jerusalem of ten thousand talents ; and, on every occasion, shewed himself more avaricious than heroic. He was careless of taking any advantage of the enemy, who at last engaged him, and obtained a complete victory. In this engagement his son lost his life, and he himself, being afterwards betrayed, was killed also. The Parthians, in this battle, killed 20,000 Romans, and took 13,000 prisoners. The person who killed Crassus cut off his head and his right hand, and carried them to the Parthian king, who ordered melted gold to be poured down his throat, upbraiding



him with these words: "Glut thyself now with that gold, with which in thy life-time thou wast never to be satisfied!" One of the principals of the triumvirate being thus no more, it was easy to foresee that a violent struggle would ensue between the other two, who, for some time past, had broke off all professions of friendship.

To such a height was corruption now got in Rome, that employments were sold in the most public manner; nor were the chiefs of the different factions less cautious in taking bribes; and, where they could not carry their point by the number of votes, never failed to call in force and violence. In fact, no office was now obtained till it had been contested with the sword, and the blood of some citizen shed on the occasion. In one of these scenes of confusion, Clodius was murdered by Milo, and the body was exposed all bloody to the people, who thereupon broke all the seats of the magistrates, made a funeral pile of them, and set it on fire, when all the magnificent buildings, in which the magistrates used to assemble, were, with the body of Clodius, reduced to ashes. So many people were afterwards murdered that it became dangerous to walk the city unarmed.

Hereupon Pompey was elected dictator, and had great authority given him, which increased his number of friends in the senate; nor did those of Cæsar decrease, who, by means of bribes, and the fame of his heroic actions, found his party very powerful in Rome. Cæsar having finished the war in Gaul, which had been the most dangerous, though the most glorious, he had ever undertaken, he sued for the consulship, and desired to have the time of his government prolonged.

In the mean time matters seemed to run against Cæsar in the senate; but, as he was informed of every thing that was transacting in Rome, he concerted his measures accordingly. Cæsar, exasperated at the little respect paid him by the senate, immediately passed the Alps at the head of his third legion, and halted at Ravenna, from whence he wrote to the senate. His letter concluded with, "If I have not justice immediately done me, I will march to Rome." These last words filled the assembly with horror, and Cæsar was commanded to resign his army, on pain of being declared an enemy to his country. This decree of the senate was as a declaration of war, and both parties had immediately recourse to arms. Mark Anthony, the tribune Curio and Cassius, in the habits of slaves, quitted the city, and went over to Cæsar.

Cæsar immediately retired secretly from Ravenna, and went and joined his army, which was then near the Rubicon. He there found about 5000 foot and 300 horse, and with these inconsiderable forces he began the civil war. He halted some time on the banks of the Rubicon, reflecting on the miseries and calamities inseparable from intestine wars: "If I do not cross this river," said he to himself, "I am ruined; and should I pass it, what multitudes shall I ruin!" After ruminating some time, and the



animosity of his enemies presenting itself to his mind, he plunged into the river, and cried out, "Let us go whither the omens of the gods, and the injustice of our enemies, call us: the dye is cast!"

The army having crossed the Rubicon, Cæsar tore his robe in the presence of the tribunes of the people, and implored the protection of his soldiers, when they all cried out, with loud acclamations, that they were ready to die in the service of their general. He then marched with all possible expedition, and took Ariminum, which diffused terror all over Italy. The senate met several times, but so great was the consternation, that they could come to no conclusion. Pompey, having no troops, nor any place to which he could retire, was under some uneasiness; and the senate, and Cato in particular, reproached him for having thus suffered himself to be seduced by the artifices of Cæsar.

Pompey resolved to move the seat of war to Appulia, fearing, should he oblige the people to take up arms, they might turn those arms against him. At Apulia were two legions, which Cæsar had resigned to him; and, having endeavoured, in an oration, to persuade the senators to follow him, several of them, with the consuls, left Rome in the night, and accompanied Pompey, being determined to share with him his fortune.

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## CHAP. XI.

*From the year of Rome 706, to the Death of Julius Cæsar.*

ABOUT this time, Cæsar made himself master of Picenum; and having obtained some other advantages, before he set out for Spain, in order to drive Pompey's veterans from thence, he marched first to Rome, to settle some kind of government there. Having taken 3000 pounds weight of gold out of the treasury, he left Rome, saying, that he was going to attack an army without a general, and that then he would go and combat a general without any army.

After several skirmishes and battles on both sides, the armies of Pompey and Cæsar met on the plains of Pharsalia. In these armies was the flower of the Roman legions, whose bravery was to determine the fate of that mighty empire. The animosity and ambition of their chiefs, who were fired with the hopes of riches and glory that must necessarily follow the conquest of the day, made every one conclude, that a general battle was unavoidable. Pompey, having twice the number of soldiers to what Cæsar had, thought himself sure of victory: and his soldiers even quarrelled among themselves about the share of plunder.

Cæsar employed his time in a different manner: he exerted his utmost skill to improve his soldiers, and inspire them with vigour and activity. Hearing that Pompey's army was drawn up in order

of battle, he told his troops, with an air of the highest satisfaction, that the long-wished-for moment was arrived, in which it was in their power to gain immortal honour. Having thus spoken, he advanced with his troops towards the field of battle. Pompey was very much disturbed by ill omens, but, nevertheless, exhorted his soldiers to behave courageously. As the armies approached, the two generals rode from rank to rank to animate their soldiers. The signal was then given for battle, and the contest on both sides was long and bloody, and seemed for some time equal. Pompey's cavalry charged with great vigour, and obliged the enemy to give ground. Cæsar instantly advanced with his reserved corps, and, attacking the faces of the enemy with their pikes, these knights were soon broken, and thrown into disorder. Cæsar pursued the advantage with so much vigour, that they were at last overpowered. The auxiliaries began the flight, though Pompey's right wing maintained their ground with great bravery. At this instant, Cæsar ordering his men to cry aloud, "Kill the foreigners, but save the Romans," the latter threw down their arms and received quarter. Mean time a dreadful slaughter was made of the foreigners, who were flying with the utmost precipitation.

After the battle Pompey did not act consistent with that character he had hitherto borne; but, mounting a horse, went to Larissa, and from thence to the sea-shore. The rich furniture, and other things which were found in Pompey's camp, were a convincing proof how much luxury had prevailed there. There fell in this memorable battle 15,000, and 24,000 surrendered prisoners.

Pompey, lately that great and powerful commander, was now obliged, with a few friends only, to retreat to a fisherman's bark, from whence he got on board another vessel, and made all possible sail. His misfortunes had now so completely conquered him, that he forgot to make use of those advantages he still had at sea, being master of a powerful and victorious fleet. Pompey fled to the island of Lesbos, where he had before sent Cornelia, his wife, and Sextus, his younger son, whom he took with him from Lesbos to Cyprus, and from thence came to Egypt.

Pompey had been a great friend to Auletes, the father of the young Egyptian king; and it was chiefly through the influence of this illustrious Roman, that he was restored to his kingdom: he therefore expected to be assisted and received with equal kindness by the son. Pompey, on his drawing near to land, sent messengers to Ptolemy, to require his protection, and aid him in his present distress. The king was then only thirteen years of age, and therefore consulted his ministers what answer to return. At last, after various opinions, it was thought most expedient to dispatch him. Achilles, with Septimas, a Roman commander, were sent to execute the horrid deed.

They went to take Pompey on board a small boat, under pretence that great vessels could not approach the shore without much difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the sea-side, as

with a design to honour Pompey, with Ptolemy at their head. Pompey embraced Cornelia, (alas, little did he think for the last time!) and entered the boat, where he was shamefully murdered, in the sight of his wife and the young king. The murderers cut off his head, and threw his body on the sand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freedmen gave it, with the assistance of an old Roman, who was there by accident. Thus unworthily ended the life of Pompey the Great, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Cornelia had seen Pompey massacred before her eyes; and it is easier to imagine the condition of a woman in the height of grief from so tragical a scene than to describe it. The Roman ships made off to sea with all imaginable speed. Cornelia and Sextus escaped first to Tyre, and from thence into Africa; but most of the other ships were taken by the Egyptian galleys, and all on board them cruelly put to the sword, among whom was Lucius Lentulus, the late consul, who, obstinately rejecting all the proposals that had been made by Cæsar, was the author of this fatal war.

In the mean time, Cæsar made all possible haste to arrive in Egypt, where he suspected Pompey had retired, and was in hopes of finding him alive. He came to Alexandria with two legions and 800 horse. In these legions were not above 3200 men; but Cæsar confided so much in the fame of his exploits, that he thought every place would entertain him with safety. On his arrival at Alexandria he was informed of Pompey's death, and soon after on his entering the place, he was presented with his head. At the sight of it he wept, and turned his face from it with abhorrence, as from an ungrateful spectacle, and ordered it to be buried in a proper place with all honourable solemnities.

As Cæsar was going out of his ship, he heard a clamour of the soldiers, which the king had left to guard the city, and saw a concourse of people gathered about him, because the fasces were carried before him, which made the populace cry out, that it diminished the authority of their king. This tumult was soon quelled; but others happened every day, in which many soldiers were slain. Cæsar therefore sent for some other legions out of Asia, as he was obliged to continue at Alexandria, on account of the Etesian winds then blowing from the north, which prevented his sailing from thence.

In the mean time, he employed himself in calling in the debt due to him from Auletes, and in hearing and determining the controversy between Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Auletes had engaged the interest of Cæsar by a bribe of 10,000 talents, part of which was unpaid, and now exacted by Cæsar with rigour. The case of Cleopatra and Auletes being at this time to be argued before Cæsar, advocates were appointed on both sides to plead the cause.

Cleopatra, hearing that Cæsar was unboundedly fond of women laid a plot to attach him first to her person, and then to her cause: for she was a woman who made nothing of prostituting her person.



to any one, either through passion or interest. She desired Cæsar to permit her to come in person, that she might plead her own cause before him. This being easily granted, she was privately conveyed into the city by her own servant, who carried her on his back, tied up in her bedding, to Cæsar's apartment in the citadel; where he threw down his burden, untied it, up started the lady, with the best airs she could put on, Cæsar was pleased with her stratagem, and smitten with her beauty, which had all the effect she wished for. He lay with her that night, and afterwards had by her a son, who was named Cæsarian.

The next morning Cæsar sent for Ptolemy, and pressed him to receive his sister again upon her own terms; at which the young king was so much enraged, that he ran out of the palace into the street, tore the diadem from his head and complained to the people that he was betrayed. In a moment the whole city was in an uproar, and the populace came on tumultuously to assist their king, whose person was seized by the Romans, which quelled the Egyptians, who were assured by Cæsar, that they would be fully satisfied with the judgment he should pass.

The next day Cæsar summoned an assembly of the people, before whom he brought out Ptolemy and Cleopatra; and, after having caused the will of the late king to be read, he decreed that they should reign jointly in Egypt, according to the tenor of that will; and farther, that Ptolemy, the younger son, and Arsinoë, the younger daughter, should reign in Cyprus. This contented the whole assembly, except Photinus, who dreaded the resentment of Cleopatra, and not only created new discontents among the people, but also prevailed with Achilles to bring his army from Pelusium to Alexandria, to drive Cæsar out of it. Achilles had 20,000 good troops, and thought to overcome Cæsar immediately: but this great Roman posted his little army so judiciously, that he easily sustained the assault. Achilles then marched against the port, with an intention to seize the fleet, and shut up Cæsar by sea; but he also frustrated this attempt, by burning the Egyptian fleet, which consisted of 50 galleys, and 22 large ships. He then took possession of the tower of Pharos, which he garrisoned, and by this means preserved his communication by sea, without which he had been effectually ruined. Cæsar also fortified himself in the strongest quarter of the city, from whence Arsinoë escaped to Achilles; and such, he says, was the beginning of the Alexandrian war, at which place he concludes his Commentaries.

Some of the ships, when on fire, drove to the shore, and communicated their flames to the adjoining houses; and, spreading into that quarter of the city called Bruchium, consumed the noble library there, which had been the collection of several ages, and then contained four hundred thousand volumes. Such was the loss the sons of literature sustained by the ravages of war.

Cæsar sent for succours to all the adjacent parts, while the eunuch Ganymedes put Achilles to death, and succeeded him in the command of the Egyptian army, as also the administration of all

other affairs. He contrived many stratagems to distress Cæsar during this war ; and, in particular he found means to spoil all the fresh water in his quarter, and was very near destroying him by that means, there being no other fresh water in Alexandria but that of the Nile, which was kept in vaulted reservoirs in every house, supplied from the river by a canal, which communication he stopped, and turned the sea-water into the reservoirs : but Cæsar sunk wells so deep that he found springs which supplied him with fresh water again.

Cæsar afterwards defeated Ganymedes in three naval engagements, and was joined by a legion sent by Calvininus, while a considerable army was assembling for him in Syria and Cilicia, under Mithridates of Pergamus, who entered Egypt, and took Pelutium by storm. In the second sea-fight, Cæsar had like to have perished. By attempting to take the town in the island of Pharos, and the mole leading to it ; he was repulsed with the loss of about eight-hundred men, and had like to have been lost himself in the rout ; for, finding the ship in which he endeavoured to escape ready to sink, by reason of the number of those who had crowded into it, he threw himself into the sea, and with difficulty got off by swimming to another of his ships in the port : while he thus made his escape, he carried some valuable papers, which he had about him, in one hand and swam with the other, whereby he saved both them and himself.

Cæsar was persuaded to send king Ptolemy to the Egyptian army, in compliance with their desire, and on a promise of peace : but when they found that they had their king at their head, they pushed on the war with greater vigour than before. Mithridates advanced with his army, and defeated a body of Egyptians, who defended the banks of the Nile. Ptolemy then advanced with his whole army to oppose the victors, and Cæsar marched to support them. A decisive battle ensued, in which Cæsar obtained a complete victory. Ptolemy endeavoured to escape in a boat, which sunk, and he was drowned in the Nile. Cæsar then returned to Alexandria, and all Egypt submitted to the conqueror.

Cæsar gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolemy, her younger brother, who was only eleven years of age. The passion which Cæsar had conceived for that princess, was probably the sole cause of his embarking in so dangerous a war ; and his affection for her kept him much longer in Egypt than his affairs required. He passed whole nights in feasting with her, and even intended to marry her ; but, after continuing some months in Egypt, he was obliged to quit it, to oppose Pharnaces, son of the great Mithridates. Pharnaces being conquered, and endeavouring to break into Bosphorus, was repulsed and slain by Alexander, who had revolted from him. Thus deservedly fell a man, so rebellious to his father, and ungrateful to his friends.

After this, he set out for Rome with the utmost diligence, having settled his affairs in these parts, as well as time would permit. No sooner had he arrived in Italy, than Cicero, and many others of



Pompey's party, met him, and congratulated him on his return. Cæsar received them in the kindest manner, which paved the way for making every thing quiet in the commonwealth.

In the year of Rome 708, the time of Cæsar's dictatorship being expired, he was elected consul with Æmilius Lepidus. However, he was obliged to quit Rome; Scipio, Cato, and Juba, king of Numidia, having raised forces in Africa, where Cæsar landed, and totally defeated them. Juba would have retired with Petreius to Zama, which was the strongest city in his dominions, but the inhabitants refused him admittance, and gave his treasures to Cæsar. Juba resolutely determined not to survive this misfortune, and agreeing with Petreius that they should kill each other, the latter fell dead on the spot; but Juba having received only a slight wound, was obliged to ask the assistance of a slave to dispatch him.

As to Cato, he returned to Utica, and there established a kind of senate, which consisted of three hundred Romans. He at first intended to stand a siege; but finding the inhabitants were not to be relied on, he changed his resolution, and advised his friends either to escape by sea, or submit to the mercy of Cæsar. He embraced them with uncommon tenderness, and discoursed on moral subjects, of which this was the theme: "The virtuous are only happy and free, and the wicked are ever wretched and slaves."

His sons, suspecting he had some design on himself, at supper took his sword from him, which he did not then miss. He afterwards threw himself on his bed, and read Plato's Dialogue on the Immortality of the Soul; then missing his sword, which not being brought him so soon as he expected, he fell into a violent passion. At last, his friends, bringing it to him, implored him not to lay violent hands on himself, but to continue among them, as their only genius, guardian, and protector. On receiving his sword, he felt the point of it, and said, "I am now my own master." He then read again, and afterwards fell into a sound sleep. At day-break he awoke, when he stabbed himself; but not doing it effectually, he staggered, and threw down a table, the noise of which brought in his slaves, his friends, and his sons, who found him weltering in his gore. His physician replaced his bowels, and sewed up the wound; but Cato, afterwards coming to himself, tore open the wound, and rushed out of life with fury, rage, and indignation, which finished Cæsar's war in Africa.

Whether the manner in which this great republican put a period to his life was justifiable, or not, has ever since been a matter of much dispute. I must own, that he did not herein act conformably to his own system of philosophy; and, if we try him by the laws of christianity, he will still appear more culpable. Life is but a short summer's campaign, in which we have many battles to fight, many breaches to mount, many strong fortresses to storm. The prudent general, however unfortunate he may have been for a long time, experience teaches us, often proves at last successful, and gives us a convincing proof, that it is cowardice to despair, though, in all human appearance, every thing seems lost. I am,



however, for allowing Cato some favourable circumstances: we must consider the age in which he lived, and the barbarity of those times, in which suicide was not forbidden by either religion or laws. Shall Cato become the sport and mockery of those people to whom he once gave laws? Shall he live to see his country, once the seat of sweet liberty and freedom, become the den of tyranny and oppression; her laws subverted, venality and corruption carrying every thing before them, and that once fair and stately city, Rome, the mistress of the world, now, through faction and party, precipitating into a pile of ruins?

Cæsar hereupon returned to Rome, and triumphed four times in one month: first for Gaul: then for Egypt, in which Arsinoë was loaded with chains; his third triumph was for Pontus, and king Pharnaces; and his last for Africa, in which the younger Juba was exposed. He then began to settle the commonwealth, enacted new laws, and committed judicial matters to the senators and knights only. With the assistance of some of the ablest astronomers he reformed the calendar, regulated the year according to the course of the sun, allotting to each year 365 days, and added one day more to every fourth year, which was called the *Bissexile*, or Leap Year.

The last war in which Cæsar was engaged about the year of Rome 709, and which had like to have proved fatal to him, was against Pompey's two sons, who had a powerful army in Spain. A decisive battle was fought in the plains of Munda, in which Cæsar was more melancholy than usual, and, perhaps, reflected on the instability of terrestrial affairs. He began to distrust so long a series of prosperity; and, seeing himself arrived to the same height of glory to which Pompey had once attained, he was fearful of experiencing the same fate. He now saw, what he believed could have never come to pass, his veteran soldiers, after fourteen years service in the field, gave ground, and would have fled, had not shame prevented them. Cæsar, in his distraction and despair, leaped from his horse, and ran to them with the utmost fury. He stopped the fugitives, reanimated them, and flying from rank to rank, was every where in an instant. Victory was now wrested from the enemy, which fortune seemed to have given them, and 3000 of them were killed on the spot. Cæsar had been exposed to so much danger in this battle, as occasioned him frequently to say, that, on other occasions he had fought for glory, but at Munda to save his life.

After this he returned to Rome, and had the honour of a triumph; but he did not meet with the same universal acclamations as formerly. The name of Pompey was still dear to the Romans, and they grieved to see his whole family thus almost extirpated. Extraordinary honours were, however, heaped on Cæsar, and Rome seemed to have nothing left but the shadow of liberty. He was allowed to assist at all games in a gilded chair, and a golden crown on his head; which crown and chair, after his death, was decreed to be exhibited at all public sports, to perpetuate his

memory. Those honours were heaped on him by the senate only to render him odious to the people, and thereby bring about his ruin. His enemies detested his ambition, and the most zealous republicans resolved to die, rather than be eye-witnesses to the total ruin of their liberties.

Upwards of sixty senators entered into a conspiracy to destroy Cæsar, Brutus and Cassius being at the head of this combination. Brutus was the soldier and scholar; but he never drew his sword with any other design than to serve his country, nor read with any other purpose than to subdue his passions. In all his actions, he strictly adhered to justice and honour, and all he said, as well as all he did, seemed to flow from a public and unbiassed spirit. Every man in the commonwealth, who loved himself, loved Brutus.

Though Brutus was the avowed enemy of absolute power, yet he could not prevail on himself to hate the usurper, who had indulged him on so many occasions. It was the love of his country, the strongest of all human ties, and that only which could prevail on him to join the conspiracy; nor had Cassius less obligations to Cæsar than Brutus, having in battle received from that conqueror life and quarter. Cassius however, engaged in this conspiracy, not out of any love to his country, but to satiate his unjust revenge.

The conspirators carried on their plot with all imaginable caution and secrecy; and, the better to justify their designs, deferred it till the ides of March, on which day Cæsar was to be declared king. A famous augur told Cæsar that great dangers threatened him on the ides of March: and those writers who would add horror to the description of this day, tell us, "that the world bore a gloom and heavy presage of Cæsar's fate; that wild beasts came into the most frequented parts of the city, apparitions in the streets, illuminations in the skies, and that inauspicious sacrifices damped the hearts of all men, except the assassins, who, with an incredible serenity of mind, waited the approaching opportunity of sacrificing the usurper."

Cæsar's wife, having had frightful and ominous dreams the preceding night, persuaded him not to go abroad that day; but Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators, calling on him in the morning, and laughing at those silly omens, took him by the hand, and led him out of his house. As Cæsar was going into the senate-house, he met the augur, who had forewarned him of the danger of that day: "The ides of March are come," said Cæsar. "True," (replied the augur) but they are not yet past."

Scarce had Cæsar taken his seat, but all the assassins pressed about him and sued for favours which they knew would not be granted. The sign was given: immediately, one, oppressed with the greatness of the attempt, made an irresolute pass at him. Cæsar then rushed upon Casca and beat him to the ground; but, while they were struggling, another of the conspirators came behind him, and plunged his dagger in his bosom: at the same time, Cassius wounded him in the face, and Brutus in the thigh. Till this time he had made a very vigorous resistance, but now made no

more, and, submitting to the strokes of a person, who owed to him his life, he only uttered these words, "And thou too, my son, Brutus !" Cæsar used to call him by this tender name, supposing him to be his illegitimate son by an intrigue with Servilia. Growing now faint with the loss of blood, he reeled to Pompey's statue, where, covering his face with his robe, and drawing his skirts to his knees, that he might fall decently, he sunk down and expired, having received twenty-three wounds.

Cæsar had long before been advised by his friends to be more cautious of the security of his person, and not to walk, as was his common practice, among the people, without arms, or any one to defend him ; but to these admonitions he always replied, "He that lives in fear of death, every moment feels its tortures ; I will die but once." At last, thus fell, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, the conqueror of the Gauls, of Pompey, and the senate, the master of the Roman republic and the world, who died without uttering the least complaint, or shewing any mark of grief or weakness.

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## CHAP. XII.

*From the Death of Julius Cæsar to the End of the Commonwealth.*

AFTER the murder of Cæsar, every thing was in a state of anarchy and confusion. Had the conspirators properly considered, they might have easily foreseen, that the death of Cæsar would not put an end to the invasion of their liberties ; but that it would give rise to fresh civil commotions, and endanger the ruin of the commonwealth. It was natural to suppose, that, as the unlimited power of Cæsar had been the envy of the great men, as soon as he was taken off, many would be candidates to succeed him, as presently will evidently appear.

Anthony and Lepidus resolved to revenge Cæsar's murder. Anthony, the next day read Cæsar's will to the people, in which Octavius was appointed his successor ; and, in case he died without issue, Decimus Brutus, one of the principal conspirators, was to succeed him ; large legacies were likewise given to the people, who were hereupon so charmed with Cæsar's goodness and so enraged against his assassins, that they found themselves obliged for the present to quit the city in order to preserve their lives.

In the mean time, Octavius, Cæsar's heir, arrived at Rome. He resolved to revenge Cæsar's murder, and to support his own pretensions, though at the hazard of his life. He landed first at Brundisium, where the soldiers resorted to him in crowds, and, overjoyed to see so near a relation of their former general, gave up the town to him, and hereupon he assumed the name of Cæsar, by which name we shall hereafter call him. He then marched boldly towards Rome, attended only by a few domestics : but was joined



in his way by all his father's friends, his freed-men and the veteran soldiers, on whom Cæsar had bestowed lands in Italy. Money was brought him from all quarters, and at his coming near the capitol, he was met by the greatest part of the magistrates, the officers, and people.

Long, and alternately successful, were the disputes between Cæsar and Anthony, which last aimed at nothing less than the destruction of the former, that he might thereby arrive at sovereign power. Cæsar was sensible of this, and took all possible care to avoid the snares laid for him : sometimes they would feign a friendship for each other, though the rankest hatred subsisted between them.

In the year of Rome 711, Anthony, by virtue of the orders of the people, though contrary to those of the senate, took upon him the government of Gallia Cisalpina ; and, after winning most of the cities of that province, actually besieged D. Brutus in Modena. This so exasperated the senate, that he was soon after declared an enemy to the commonwealth, and immediately sent Cæsar to the relief of Brutus. Thus the dictator's adopted son was seen marching, under his enemies' standards, to succour one of his father's assassins ; but the design of Cæsar was not so much to relieve Brutus, as to ruin Anthony.

A general battle being fought near Modena, Anthony was there defeated, after a great slaughter. He then fled to Gallia Transalpina, where Lepidus, Plancus, and Asinius Pollio, were at the head of a considerable body of forces, hoping they would assist him. Cæsar after this victory, finding himself only the tool of the senate, resolved on accommodating matters with Anthony, and managed things so well, that he not only got himself elected consul, but obliged the senate solemnly to renounce all the decrees that had been enacted against Anthony, Dolabella, and others ; and likewise to condemn Brutus, Cassius, and their several accomplices.

Decimus afterwards endeavouring, with a few attendants to pass through Gaul, was taken and betrayed at Aquileia by Sequanus, governor of that country, who sent his head to Anthony. Much about the same time, Trebonius, another of the conspirators was taken, and, after being put to grievous torments, his head was struck off, and kicked about in a most contemptuous manner by the soldiers.

Differences being at last accommodated between Cæsar and Anthony, it was agreed, they, in conjunction with Lepidus, should invest themselves with the supreme authority during five years, under the name of Triumviri. It was also agreed that Anthony should have all Gaul, except Narbonne, which Lepidus was to have with Spain ; whilst Cæsar was to possess Africa, Sicily and Sardinia, with the other islands, and that Italy, and the Eastern provinces, should continue for a time in common. In this manner did three men again divide the empire of the world ; but of these, two were too great long to be satisfied with a division of power.

They further agreed, to their eternal infamy, to destroy all their enemies, on which occasion Cicero caused the greatest controversy. Anthony was his implacable enemy, and would come to no firm accommodation, till his destruction was determined. Lepidus, who was little better than a tool, consented to this. Cæsar, on account of his former friendship, would have spared his life ; but, at last, he ignominiously consented to his death. They proscribed 300 senators, and upwards of 2000 knights, so that Rome was now in a most horrible situation, nothing being heard but cries and lamentations in every part of it, and murders were every where committed by the soldiers.

The triumviri carried their inhumanity to such lengths, as to give up to one another their nearest relations. Lepidus sacrificed his brother Paulus to his colleagues ; Mark Anthony abandoned to Cæsar his uncle Lucius ; and Cæsar gave up to Anthony, Cicero, to whom he was bound by the strictest obligations. Cicero, while on his flight, seeing ruffians coming towards him, ordered his litter to be set down, and quietly submitted his neck to Pomponius Lena, whom he before had saved from condemnation. This wretch cut off his hands and his head, and carried them to Anthony, who insulted over them. Some authors tell us, that it was his custom to have the heads of those, whom he had proscribed, brought upon his table, and that he there used to feed his eyes a long time with this cruel spectacle. Fulvia, his wife, says Dion, spit upon Cicero's head, and laying it in her lap, pulled out the tongue, and pierced it several times with her bodkin. The head and hands, being afterwards, by order of the cruel Anthony, fixed upon the rostrum, the people were struck with horror, to see the remains of a man, whose unequalled eloquence had so often triumphed in that very place. Thus fell, about the sixty-fourth year of his age, the greatest orator the world ever produced.

About the year of Rome 712, a decisive battle was fought, in which Anthony commanded on one side, and Marcus Brutus and Cassius on the other. Victory declared for Anthony ; on which Cassius by his own order, was killed by his servant, and Brutus fell upon his sword, and expired. Such was the end of Brutus and Cassius, who, as some relate, died by the same weapons with which they had stabbed Cæsar. The triumviri, by this victory, established their empire on the ruins of the commonwealth, its liberties being buried in the plains of Pharsalia, with Brutus and Cassius, the last Roman republicans.

Cæsar then returned to Italy, and Anthony, after visiting Athens, where he was present at the conferences of the philosophers, crossed into Asia with all his troops, to establish the authority of the triumvirate. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, (who had poisoned her younger brother, that she might reign alone) met him at Tarsus in Cilicia, which proved his destruction : for her beauty, wit, and art, inflamed him almost to madness, and extinguished all his military ardour.

Cleopatra was then twenty-five years of age, when the graces of her person were more powerful than the magnificence of her dress.



The brilliancy of her equipage, on entering the river Sydnus, will hardly admit of a description. The poop of her ship flamed with gold, the sails were of purple silk, and the oars inlaid with silver. A pavilion of cloth of gold was raised upon the deck, under which appeared the queen robed like Venus, and surrounded with the most beautiful virgins of her court, of whom some represented the Nereids, and others the Graces. Instead of trumpets were heard flutes, hautboys, harps, and such other musical instruments, warbling the softest airs; to which the oars kept time, and rendered the harmony enchanting. Perfumes were burnt on the deck, which spread their odours to a great distance on the river, whose shores were covered with an infinite number of people, crying out, that Venus was coming to make Bacchus a visit for the good of Asia.

Great feasts were every day made between Anthony and Cleopatra; and it was at this time, that Arsinoe, Cleopatra's sister, was, at the request of that cruel queen, put to death. It was also, at one of these feasts, that Cleopatra had two of the finest pearls in her ears that were ever seen, each of which being valued at about 50,000 pounds sterling. She melted one of these pearls in vinegar and swallowed it. She would have done the same by the other but was prevented. This other pearl was afterwards consecrated to Venus by Augustus, who carried it from Alexandria to Rome.

Cleopatra accompanied Anthony as far as Tyre, and he followed her to Alexandria, where they spent the whole winter in a most scandalous excess of luxury and effeminacy. Anthony afterwards returned to Rome, and married Octavia, the sister of Cæsar, and widow of Marcellus; but he still retained his fondness for Cleopatra, and met her at Lucecome in Phœnicia, from whence he returned with her to Egypt; where he indulged his inordinate passion for this lascivious woman to the highest excess of voluptuousness. He gave her Phœnicia, the lower Syria, and Cyprus, with great part of Cilicia, Judea, and Arabia. He also made her a present of the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above 200,000 volumes; and she placed them in a new library, which she built where the former stood. She had a taste for polite learning and sciences, and understood several languages. She omitted no kind of arts to keep Anthony in her chains; and he entered Alexandria in triumph dragging at his chariot wheels, the king of Armenia, laden with golden chains, and presented him in that condition to Cleopatra, who was pleased to see a captive king at her feet. At one of their banquets, when Anthony was intoxicated with wine, she presumed to ask him to give her the Roman empire, which he was not ashamed to promise her.

In the mean time, and about the year of Rome 711, Cæsar having triumphed over all the republicans, thought it time to break with his colleagues. He wanted to reign singly, and was therefore determined, if possible, to rid himself of them. He easily removed Lepidus, who being little esteemed by his soldiera, was abandoned by them in the midst of his camp, which Cæsar became master of by his artful conduct and secret negociations. Lepidus



was afterwards reduced to such an abject state, as to become even the pity of his enemies.

Cleopatra had two sons by Anthony, one of whom was called Alexander, and the other Ptolemy. He heaped a profusion of honours on these young princes, and celebrated the coronation of their mother with the utmost magnificence. Matters being carried to this pitch by Anthony, he gave great disgust to the Romans, and particularly to Octavia, his wife: she set out to meet Anthony with Cæsar's consent, who gave it with no other view, but that Anthony's passion for Cleopatra might induce him to act dishonourably by Octavia, and thereby increasing the indignation of the Romans against Anthony, he should have a plausible pretence for drawing his sword against him.

Every thing succeeded to Cæsar's wishes; for Octavia received a letter from Anthony, in which she was ordered to come no farther than Athens, and accordingly she there stopped. Cleopatra, who very much dreaded the charms and virtues of Octavia, employed all her artifice to prevent Anthony's giving her meeting. She assumed an air of melancholy, and would frequently let fall a tear on his approach, which she would wipe away immediately, affecting to conceal her weakness and grief. This had its desired effect, for he at last ordered Octavia to return to Rome. On her return, she took the greatest care of her family and behaved in such a manner as procured her immortal honour. She loved her husband in spite of his ill usage, and could not bear to think, that his ungenerous treatment of her should again kindle the flames of a civil war. How opposite was the character of Octavia to that of Cleopatra: how amiable does the former appear even amidst repeated insults! and how contemptible the latter amidst the parade of magnificence!

Anthony now suffered himself to be persuaded to divorce Octavia and declare war against Cæsar, both which he accordingly did. He then assembled his forces at Samos, where he and Cleopatra lived as luxuriously as they had done in Egypt. Here several kings had orders to send arms, provisions, and soldiers; and others to send musicians, dancers, and buffoons; so that frequently when a ship was thought to come loaded with military stores, it proved to be only scenes, players, and machines.

Anthony's temper, however, began at last to be much soured, and he even suspected, that Cleopatra had designs on his life, and would never eat of any thing till she had first tasted it. Cleopatra, perceiving his suspicion, poisoned the tops of the flowers with which she and Anthony, according to the custom of those times, were crowned with at their meals. Anthony being enflamed with wine, Cleopatra proposed drinking their flowers; on which he instantly broke off the tops of them with his fingers, and, throwing them in a goblet of wine, was going to drink them, when Cleopatra stopped him, saying, "I am the person whom you suspect of designing to poison you; but now judge, whether I should want opportunities to dispatch you, were you become tiresome to me."

or I could live without you ;" then ordered a prisoner to be brought in who had been sentenced to die, she obliged him to drink off the liquor, when he expired immediately. This rivetted Anthony's fetters beyond all hopes of shaking them off.

Cæsar had now got his forces together ; for Anthony, being lost in luxury and effeminacy with Cleopatra, had given him time to recruit, who might otherwise have been totally ruined, had Anthony come upon him before he was prepared. Anthony's fleet consisted of 500 large ships, on board which was an army of 200,000 foot and 22,000 horse. Cæsar had only 250 ships, 80,000 foot, and 12,000 horse. Anthony was advised by his ablest officers not to engage by sea ; but Cleopatra advising the contrary, they came to a general engagement near the city of Actium in Epirus, in sight of both armies. Victory was for some time doubtful, till the retreat of Cleopatra, who fled with the whole Egyptian squadron, and was precipitately followed by Anthony, declared every thing lost ; for Anthony's army immediately submitted to Cæsar.

Anthony and Cleopatra escaped to Alexandria, where she put many great persons to death, fearing, since the defeat she had met with, they might take up arms against her. To avoid falling into the hands of Cæsar, she formed the very extraordinary design of having her ships, in the Mediterranean, carried into the Red Sea. over the isthmus of seventy miles ; but in this she was prevented by the Arabians, who burnt them all. Anthony, finding himself deserted by all his followers, for some time secluded himself from company in his house, which he called Timonium, where he pretended to act the part of Timon the man-hater ; but he soon returned to the arms of Cleopatra, and with her revelled away the remainder of his life.

They agreed to send ambassadors to Cæsar to sue for peace ; and Anthony submitted to the meanness of demanding life of him upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person, if Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children. The queen, however, was so treacherous as to give private orders to her ambassadors to mention her only in the treaty. Cæsar would not admit Anthony's ambassadors to an audience, but he gave a favourable reception to those of the queen, he being particularly desirous of securing her person to adorn his triumph, and her treasures to enable him to pay the debts he had contracted, to defray the expenses of the war.

The ambassadors proving unsuccessful, Anthony endeavoured to extinguish in himself the sense of his present misfortunes, and the apprehension of those that threatened him, by abandoning himself to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and he regaled themselves alternately, and emulously contended to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets. Cleopatra, however, foresaw what might happen, and collected all sorts of poison to try which of them occasioned death with the least pain. She made the experiment of their virtues and strength upon condemned criminals, whereby she found, that the strongest poisons caused



death the soonest, but with great torment; and that those which are gentle brought an easy but slow death. She tried the bitings of venomous creatures, and caused various kinds of serpents to be applied to different persons. She every day made these experiments, and discovered, at length, that the asp was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions, and which, throwing the person hit into an immediate heaviness and stupefaction, attended with a slight sweating upon the face, and a numbness of all the organs of sense, gently extinguished life; so that those, in that condition, were angry when any one awakened them, or endeavoured to make them rise, like people exceedingly sleepy. This was the poison she fixed upon; but applied herself with extraordinary solicitude in caressing Anthony, to dispel his suspicions and complaints.

Cæsar, being fully sensible that it was of the highest importance to him not to leave his victory unfinished, invested Pelusium, and summoned the governor to open the gates. Seleucus, who commanded there for Cleopatra, had received secret orders upon that head, and surrendered the place without waiting for a siege. Such was the wickedness of this queen, in whom the most odious vices were complicated; she absolutely renounced all modesty, had a violent propensity to fraud, injustice and cruelty; and, what is worse than all, was a most detestable hypocrite. While the rumour of this treason spread in the city, Cleopatra ordered her most precious moveables to be carried to a place of security. Adjoining the temple of Isis she had caused tombs and halls to be erected, superb as well for their beauty and magnificence as their loftiness and extent. Hither she removed all her jewels gold, silver, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatic wood, as if she intended to raise a funeral pile, upon which she would consume herself with her treasures. Cæsar was alarmed on being informed of this; and daily dispatched messengers to her, giving her the greatest hopes of the most kind and generous treatment; while he advanced towards the city with hasty marches.

Upon Cæsar's arrival there, he encamped near the Hipporome and was in hopes of soon making himself master of the city, by means of the intelligence he had held with Cleopatra, on which he relied no less than on his army. Anthony, being ignorant of her intrigues, prepared for an obstinate defence. He made a vigorous sally, and returned victorious into the city, which was the last effort of his expiring genius: for, after this exploit, his fortitude and sense of glory forsook him, or were no more of service to him. Instead of pursuing his victory, and keeping a watchful eye over Cleopatra, who betrayed him, he flew to her in his armour, and threw himself at her feet. The palace echoed with acclamations, as though the siege had been raised, and Anthony and Cleopatra spent that day and part of the night in the most abandoned folly.

Anthony now resolved to make the last attempt both by sea and land, with a fixed resolution to conquer or die. He ordered his attendants to fill him out wine plentifully, saying, "This may be,



perhaps, the last service you will be able to do me ; for to-morrow you may change your master, when I, stretched on the ground, shall be no more." On the approach of day, Anthony drew up his forces on some rising ground out of the city, and from thence beheld his galleys, which were rowing out of the port, and going to attack those of Cæsar ; but how shall I express his astonishment when he beheld his admiral delivering up his fleet to his enemy ! At the same time, his cavalry, seeing this, deserted him and went over to Cæsar, when his infantry was obliged to submit. Unhappy Anthony, in vain do you fly to the palace to seek Cleopatra, that you may murder her for her perfidy, for she is not there—the ignominious wretch is retired !

Cleopatra had secured herself from his fury among the tombs, which quarter was fortified with good walls, and the gates were shut. She caused Anthony to be told, that she had destroyed herself, and chose her own sepulchre among those of her ancestors. Struck with the idea of her death, he passed immediately from the excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, and thought only of following her to the grave. Having taken this resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a freed-man, whom he had caused to take off his armour, and commanded him to plunge his dagger into his bosom ; but his servant, full of affection, respect, and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Anthony, looking upon this action as an example for him to follow, thrust his sword into his body, and fell upon the floor in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with that of his faithful servant.

At that moment an officer came to let him know that Cleopatra was alive. He no sooner heard her name pronounced, than he opened his dying eyes, suffered his wounds to be dressed, and caused himself to be carried to the fort, where she had shut herself up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance, for fear of some surprize ; but she appeared at the lofty window, from whence she threw down chains and cords. Anthony was made fast to these, and Cleopatra, assisted by two women, who were the only persons she had brought with her into the tombs, drew him up. Never was there a more moving sight. Anthony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the air, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands, to Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his last breath ; while she, with her features distorted, and her arms strained, pulled the cord with her whole strength. When she had drawn him up to her, and placed him on a bed, she threw her clothes upon him, and, making the most mournful exclamations, cut off his hair, according to the superstition of the Pagans, who believed that was a relief to those who died a violent death. Her cries recalling his fainting spirits, and seeing the affliction she was in, he told her, with a view to comfort her, that he should die in peace, since he should expire in her arms ; and that he did not blush at his defeat, since he had been van-

quished by Romans. Having thus spoken, he expired, being then in the fifty third year of his age. His death put an end to all the civil wars, and gave Cæsar an opportunity of completing his ambitious designs.

Proculeius arrived from Cæsar, who could not refrain shedding tears on this melancholy occasion, which was aggravated by the bloody sword that was presented to him. This Roman had received particular orders to seize Cleopatra, and, if possible, to bring her alive to Cæsar. The queen refused to go with him, but permitted him to speak to her from without. Proculeius, after having observed the situation of the sepulchre, went and informed Cæsar of his observations. Cæsar then sent Gallus to speak with her, which he did in the same manner as Proculeius. In the mean time, the latter bringing a ladder, and being followed by two officers, got in at the window where Anthony had been drawn up, and went down to the gate, where Cleopatra was talking to Gallus. One of her female attendants seeing him, shrieked, and cried, "Ill-fated princess, thou art taken!" Cleopatra had raised a dagger to stab herself, when Proculeius, catching her in his arms, "You injure," said he, "both Cæsar and yourself, in attempting to deprive him of so noble an opportunity to exert his clemency." He seized her dagger, and shook her robes, to discover if any poison was concealed under them. Cæsar then sent a freed-man to guard Cleopatra, ordering him to use her like a queen, but to prevent her from laying violent hands on herself.

Cæsar then entered Alexandria without farther opposition, and gave Cleopatra fair hopes of the kindest treatment; though he intended only to pervert her treasure to his own purposes, and reserve her person to grace his triumph; but, when he had both in his power, he disregarded her, and she found she had no other means of avoiding the disgrace of adding to the glory of his triumph, than by putting a period to her life. Cæsar went and paid her a visit, when she endeavoured to captivate that young conqueror, as she before had Julius Cæsar and Anthony; but, alas, the charm was now broken! Cæsar, with the utmost coolness, only advised her not to despond, declaring, that he would treat her with all possible tenderness. He gave her leave to dispose of her jewels as she thought proper; and, after giving her the kindest assurances, he left her. Cæsar imagined he had artfully overreached Cleopatra, by inspiring her with the love of life, which he, in fact, wished to prolong only for the sake of his triumph; but herein he soon found his mistake.

Cæsar had before given Cleopatra leave to bury Anthony, which she did with the utmost magnificence, sparing no cost in his interment. According to the custom of Egypt, she caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the East, and placed it among the tombs of the Egyptian kings.

Cleopatra, hearing that Cæsar intended to send her and her children away within three days, she conjured him to let her pay her last oblations to the manes of Anthony, which he granted.

She then visited Anthony's tomb, strewing it with flowers, and watering it with tears. She then returned to her chamber, went into a bath, and from thence to a table, where a splendid entertainment was prepared. When she rose from table she wrote a letter to Cæsar, wherein she earnestly desired to be laid in the same tomb with Anthony; and, having made all quit her chamber, except her two women, she shut the door, sat down upon a bed, and asked for a basket of figs, which a peasant had lately brought. This supposed peasant was one of the queen's domesticks, who had eluded the vigilance of the guards. She placed the basket by her, and a moment after lay down, as if she had fallen asleep; but that was the effect of the asp, which was concealed among the fruit, and had stung her in the arm, which she had held to it. The poison immediately communicated itself to the heart, and killed her without pain.

Thus died this princess, whose wit and beauty had made so much noise in the world, in the year of Rome 724, after having reigned twenty-two years from the death of her father, twelve whereof she had passed with Anthony, and in the thirty-ninth year of her age. She was a woman of great parts, as well as of great vice and wickedness, and spoke several languages with the utmost readiness; for, besides being well skilled in Greek and Latin, she could converse with Ethiopians, Troglodites, Jews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, and Persians, without an interpreter, and always gave to such as were of these nations, as often as they had occasion to address her, an answer in their own language. In her death ended the reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, after it had continued, from the death of Alexander, 294 years.

Learn hence, my fair readers, how dangerous is the possession of wit and beauty, where prudence and virtue are wanting. The young lady, on whom Heaven has bestowed an uncommon share of natural abilities, if she neglects to improve it by the practice of every social virtue, will, like the wretched Cleopatra, turn those blessings to punishments, in making her ruin the more public, and her memory the more detested. Ease, pleasures, and luxuries, are too apt to lull the mind into a state of imaginary security, which throws virtue off its guard, and exposes the deluded fair to the most fatal dangers. Surrounded, in the bloom of life, by a crowd of admirers, who are ever ready to offer up the incense of flattery and adulation at the shrine of beauty, they are early accustomed to admire such declarations, and form such a plan for their future conduct, as pave the way to their ruin. Remember, that female virtue, once lost, is never to be regained.

But, to return to Cæsar, on the receipt of Cleopatra's letter, instantly dispatched a messenger to her, but he found her dead on a golden couch, dressed in royal robes, and looking like one asleep, with one of her maids dead at her feet, and the other expiring. Cæsar was very much troubled at Cleopatra's death, as it robbed him of the noblest ornament of his triumph, though he could not but admire the greatness of her courage. He ordered her body



to be buried near that of Anthony, agreeably to her request, which was accordingly done with the greatest funeral pomp. Her women had also a pompous interment, in memory of their fidelity. After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was made a Roman province, and governed by a præfect sent from Rome for that purpose.

Cæsar, having now greatly enlarged the Roman dominions, was received at Rome as a conqueror, who had put an end to the miseries and calamities of most nations. He triumphed three days successively with extraordinary magnificence; first for Illyricum, secondly for the victory at Actium, and thirdly for the conquest of Egypt. On this occasion the temple of Janus was shut, which was the third time since the foundation of Rome, after having stood open two hundred and five years.

Cæsar now considering himself as supreme governor of the Roman empire, resolved to shew all the clemency of a wise prince, and the art of a refined politician. His first care was to make the adherents of Anthony his friends; after this he gave splendid entertainments to those in power, and amused the people with shows and plays. He regulated the many abuses that had crept into the state, banished corruption from the senate, and allowed the people the free possession of their liberties. Having settled every thing in the most excellent order, a variety of thoughts crowded on his mind, and he reflected for a considerable time, whether he should continue to rule the empire, or restore it to its former state. Sylla and Julius Cæsar were two examples too recent to be soon forgotten: the former, by giving up his power, was suffered to die peaceably in his bed; whereas the latter, by maintaining it, was assassinated by the hands of his best friends, who afterwards triumphed in the deed.

Not being able to determine for himself, he consulted his two best friends, Agrippa and Mæcenas. Agrippa advised him to resign it; but Mæcenas was of a different opinion. He insisted on it, that it would be impossible for the state to subsist but under a monarch, whose person and power would be equally secure under a mild and wise administration. He followed the advice of Mæcenas; and, though he offered the senate to resign it, he had no intention of so doing. The senate and people, however, all refused to accept his resignation: so that he had the pleasure of being forced to accept of that which he wished for.

Cæsar, in order to appear the less fond of the power they had voted him, immediately declared, that he would not accept of sovereign dignity for more than five years; but he continued to enjoy it thirty years after the expiration of that term. However fond Cæsar might be of power, it is certain he employed all his care in settling the empire on a happy and lasting foundation; and, during the rest of his life, acted with so much justice and clemency, that after his death, it was said of him, that it had been well he had never been born, or never died.

The Romans were now arrived to the highest pitch of perfection, with respect to literature, arts, and sciences. There flourished

at this time, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Tibullus, and Propertius, all inimitable poets ; and besides them, Livy, that immortal Roman Historian. Happily, those men of genius lived in the times of Cæsar and Mæcenæ, who were the greatest encouragers of learning that perhaps ever existed.

About the year of Rome 727, the number of inhabitants are said to have amounted to 4,062,000 ; nor is this much to be wondered at, when it is said, that the city and suburbs of Rome were at this time fifty miles in compass. The provinces were then divided, and all public affairs settled, when the name of Augustus was added to that of Cæsar, as intimating something more than mortal. Here ended the greatest commonwealth upon earth, and at the same time began the greatest monarchy, which made so great a figure, that, for many years it was thought to be immortal. The Romans were at this time masters of almost the whole globe. Never before had that nation seen such happy days : wars no longer desolated mankind ; but the improvement of arts and sciences rendered them humane and happy : peace and plenty poured forth her gifts in abundance ; and their monarch, the source of all these blessings, became their idol.

Though we have completed the plan we set out on, that of giving a Roman History from the foundation of Rome to the end of the commonwealth, it may not, nevertheless, be improper to observe, that Augustus Cæsar died a natural death in the eighty-sixth year of his age, in Athella, a town of Campania, and was buried at the Campus Martius at Rome. He was looked upon as a god ; for hardly ever was there a man more successful in war, or more moderate in peace, enjoying the empire with universal satisfaction. He was liberal to all, and most faithful to his friends, whom he raised to such great honours, that they almost equalled his own elevated sphere.

END OF THE HISTORY OF ROME.





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## PREFACE

### TO THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AMERICA.

THE History of South America, like all other histories of newly discovered countries, has been so interwoven with fable, as in some measure to deter the youthful student from employing his time in the pursuit of *Trifles*; for in that light fabulous histories must generally be considered.

The Spanish Adventurers to the New World were mostly illiterate men, whose principal pursuits were gold and silver. On their return to their native state, their representations were guided by interest and vanity; and, ashamed of having made no observations on the rude arts, manufactures, and genius of the people they had conquered, they fabricated stories the most wild, romantic and ridiculous, to which the Spanish writers of those days gave a helping hand.

The literary world is undoubtedly much obliged to the labour, genius, and attention of Dr Robertson, whose extensive and polite connections enabled him to procure information for his History of America, which few other individuals could perhaps have obtained. We have therefore carefully consulted and followed that work, by the assistance of which we may venture to say, that we have now the pleasure of laying before our youthful Readers such an epitome of *The History of South America* as may by no means be considered as fabulous, but as founded on the most authentic materials and authorities.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
SOUTH AMERICA.

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CHAP. I.

SO nice and complicated are the arts of navigation and ship-building, that they require the ingenuity and experience of many succeeding ages, to bring them to any tolerable degree of perfection. The raft or canoe, which at first served to convey a savage over a river, that obstructed him in the chase, gave rise to the invention of constructing a vessel capable of carrying a number of people in safety to a distant coast. Many efforts were made, many experiments were tried, and much labour and invention employed, before this important undertaking was accomplished.

In proportion as the art of navigation increased, men became more acquainted with each other, and a commercial intercourse commenced between remote nations. Men must have made some considerable advancements towards civilization, before they acquired the idea of property, and ascertained it so perfectly, as to be acquainted with the most simple of all contracts, that of exchanging by barter one rude commodity for another. However, as soon as this important right was established, and every individual felt, that he had an exclusive title to possess or alienate whatever he had acquired by his own labour or dexterity, the wants and ingenuity of his nature suggested to him, a new method of increasing his acquisitions and enjoyments, by disposing of what appeared to him superfluous, in order to procure what was necessary or desirable in the possession of others.

As navigation and commerce extended, so in course did the intercourse of remote nations. The ambition of conquest or the necessity of procuring new settlements, were no longer the sole motives of visiting distant lands. The desire of gain became a new spur to activity, roused adventurers, and sent them out on long voyages, in the pursuit of countries, whose produce or want might increase that circulation, which nourishes and gives vigour to commerce. Trade proved a great source of discovery, it opened unknown seas, it penetrated into new regions, and contributed more than any other cause, to bring men acquainted with



the situation, the nature, and commodities of the different regions of the earth.

The structure of the vessels used by the ancients was very rude and imperfect, and their method of working them on the ocean was very defective. Though the property of the magnet, by which it attracts iron, was well known to the ancients, its more important and amazing virtue of pointing to the poles had entirely escaped their observation. Destitute of this faithful guide, which now conducts the pilot with so much certainty in the unbounded ocean during the darkness of night, or when the heavens are covered with clouds, the ancients had no other method of regulating their course than by observing the sun and stars. Their navigation was consequently uncertain and timid. They dared not even to quit sight of land, but crept along the coast, exposed to all the dangers and retarded by all the obstructions unavoidable in holding such an awkward course. An incredible length of time was requisite for performing voyages, which are now finished in a short space. Even in the mildest climates, and in the seas the least tempestuous it was only during the summer months that the ancients ventured out of their harbours, the remainder of the year being lost in inactivity.

The Egyptians, soon after the establishment of their monarchy, are reported to have commenced a trade between the Arabian Gulph, or Red Sea, and the western coast of the great India continent. The commodities, which they imported from the East were carried by land from the Arabian Gulph to the banks of the Nile, and conveyed down that river to the Mediterranean; but the fertile soil and mild climate of Egypt, producing all the necessaries and comforts of life, the Egyptians, had no inducements to undertake long and hazardous voyages.

The Phenicians possessed a spirit more favourable to commerce and discovery than the Egyptians. They had not, like the natives of Egypt, any distinguishing peculiarity in their manners and institutions; they were not addicted to any singular and unsocial form of superstition, and could mingle with other nations without scruple or reluctance. The territory they possessed was neither large nor fertile, and commerce was the only source from which they could derive opulence or power. The trade, therefore, carried on by the Phenicians of Sidon and Tyre was more extensive and enterprising than that of any state in the ancient world. In many of the places to which they resorted, they planted colonies, and communicated to the rude inhabitants some knowledge of their arts and improvements.

The Jews, encouraged by the riches they saw the Phenicians acquiring from commerce seemed desirous to endeavour to partake of it. Solomon fitted out fleets, which under the direction of Phenician pilots, sailed from the Red Sea to Tarshish and Ophir; but the singular institution of the Jews, the observance of which was enjoined by their Divine Legislator, with an intention of preserving them a separate people, uninfected by idolatry, prevented their

being numbered among the nations, which contributed to improve navigation, or to make any material or useful discoveries.

The Carthaginians caught the spirit of commerce from the Phenicians and Jews. The commonwealth of Carthage applied to trade and naval affairs with the greatest success. They extended their navigation chiefly towards the west and north, and visited not only all the coasts of Spain, but those of Gaul, and penetrated at last into Britain. They made considerable progress by land, into the interior provinces of Africa, traded with some of them, and subjected others to their empire. They sailed along the western coast of that great continent, almost to the tropick of Cancer, and placed several colonies, in order to civilize the natives, and accustom them to commerce.

It is evident that the Phenicians, who instructed the Greeks in many useful arts and sciences did not communicate to them that extensive knowledge of navigation, which they themselves possessed; nor did the Romans imbibe that commercial spirit and ardour for discovery, which distinguished their rivals, the Carthaginians. Though Greece be almost encompassed by the sea, which formed many spacious bays and commodious harbours: though it be surrounded by a vast number of fertile Islands, yet, notwithstanding such a favourable situation, which seemed to invite that ingenious people to apply themselves to navigation, it was long before this art attained any degree of perfection among them. Even at the time, when the Greeks engaged in the famous enterprise against Troy, their knowledge in naval affairs seems not to have been much improved. Their vessels were of inconsiderable burthen and mostly without decks. These had only one mast, and they were strangers to the use of anchors. All their operations in sailing were clumsy and unskilful.

The expedition of Alexander the Great into the East, considerably enlarged the sphere of navigation and of geographical knowledge among the Greeks. He founded a great city, which he called Alexandria, near one of the mouths of the river Nile, that by the Mediterranean sea, and the neighbourhood of the Arabian Gulf it might command the trade both of the East and West. This situation was chosen with such discernment, that Alexandria soon became the chief commercial city in the world.

The progress made by the Romans in navigation and discovery, was still more inconsiderable than that of the Greeks. The genius of the Roman people, their military education, and the spirit of their laws concurred to discourage them from commerce and naval affairs. It was the necessity of opposing a formidable rival, not the desire of extending trade, which first prompted them to aim at maritime power.

As soon as the Romans acquired a taste for the luxuries of the East, the trade with India through Egypt was pushed with new vigour, and carried on to greater extent. By frequenting the Indian continent, navigators became acquainted with the periodical course of the winds, which, in the ocean that separates Africa

from India, blow with little duration during one half of the year from the East, and during the other half blow with equal steadiness from the West. Encouraged by this observation, they abandoned their ancient, slow and dangerous course along the coast, and as soon as the western monsoon set in took their departure from Ocelis, at the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, and stretched boldly across the ocean. The uniform direction of the wind, supplying the place of the compass, and rendering the guidance of the stars less necessary conducted them to the port of Musiris, on the Western shore of the Indian continent. There they took on board their cargo, and returning with the eastern monsoon, finished their voyage to the Arabian Gulf within the year. This part of India, now known by the name of the Malabar coast, seems to have been the utmost limits of ancient navigation in that quarter of the globe.

The discovery of this new method of sailing to India, is the most considerable improvement in navigation made by the Romans during the continuance of their power. In ancient times, the knowledge of remote countries was more frequently acquired by land than by sea; and the Romans, from their particular dislike to maritime affairs, may be said to have totally neglected the latter, though a much more preferable way to make discoveries, being more easy and expeditious.

If we reject fabulous and obscure accounts, if we closely abide by the light and information of authentic history, without giving way to the conjectures of fancy, or the dreams of etymologists, we must conclude, that the knowledge which the ancients had acquired of the habitable globe was very confined and superficial. In Europe, the extensive provinces in the eastern part of Germany were little known to them. They were almost totally unacquainted with the vast countries which are now subjects to the kings of Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Poland and the Russian empire. The more barren regions, which stretch within the arctic circle were quite unexplored. In Africa, their researches did not extend far beyond the provinces which border on the Mediterranean, and those situated on the western shore of the Arabian Gulf. In Asia, they were unacquainted with all the fertile and delightful countries beyond the Ganges, which furnish the most valuable commodities for the European commerce with India; nor do they seem to have ever penetrated into those immense regions, occupied by the wandering tribes, which they called by the general name of Scythians, and now possessed by Tartars of various denominations, and by the Asiatic Russian subjects.

But however imperfect or inaccurate the geographical knowledge which the Greeks and Romans had acquired may appear, in respect of the present improved state of that science, their progress in discovery will seem considerable, and the extent to which they carried navigation and commerce, must be considered as great, when compared with the ignorance of early times. Geography continued to improve under the Romans so long as they remained in their powerful state; but when the barbarians broke in



upon them, the consequence of luxury and effeminacy, the sciences then dwindled, and discoveries ceased to be made.

Constantinople, after the destruction of the Roman empire, though often threatened by the fierce invaders, who spread desolation over the rest of Europe, was so fortunate as to escape their destructive rage. The knowledge of ancient arts and discoveries were preserved in that city, a taste for splendour and elegance still subsisted, the productions and luxuries of foreign countries were in request, and commerce continued to flourish in Constantinople, when it was almost extinct in every other part of Europe.

Much about the same time, a gleam of light and knowledge broke in upon the East. The Arabians, having contracted some relish for the sciences of the people whose empire they had contributed to overturn, translated the books of several of the Greek philosophers into their own language. The study of geography in course became an early object of attention to the Arabians: but that acute and ingenious people cultivated chiefly the speculative and scientific parts of geography. In order to ascertain the figure and dimensions of our earth, they applied the principles of geometry, they had recourse to astronomical observations, and employed experiments and operations, which Europe, in more enlightened times, have eagerly adopted and imitated.

The calamities and desolation brought upon the western provinces of the Roman empire by its barbarous conquerors, by degrees were forgotten and in some measure repaired. The rude tribes which settled there, acquiring insensibly some idea of regular government, and some relish for the functions and comforts of civil life. Europe awakened, in some degree, from its torpid and inactive state, the first symptoms of which were discerned in Italy. The acquisition of these roused industry, and gave motion and vigour to all the active powers of the human mind: foreign commerce revived, navigation was attended to, and great pains taken to improve it.

From that period, the commercial spirit of Italy became active and enterprising. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, rose from inconsiderable towns, to be populous and wealthy cities; their naval power increased, their vessels frequented not only all the ports in the Mediterranean, but venturing sometimes beyond the straits, visited the maritime towns of Spain, France, the Low Countries, and England.

While the cities of Italy were thus advancing in their career of improvement, an event happened, the most extraordinary perhaps in the history of mankind, which, instead of obstructing the commercial progress of the Italians, contributed to its increase. The martial spirit of the Europeans, heightened and inflamed by religious zeal, prompted them to attempt the deliverance of the Holy Land from the dominion of infidels. Vast armies composed of all the nations in Europe, moved towards Asia on this strange enterprise. The Genoese, Pisans and Venetians furnished the transports to carry them thither, and supplied them with provisions and

military stores. Besides the immense sums which they received on this account they obtained commercial privileges and establishments. From these sources prodigious wealth flowed into the cities above mentioned. This was accompanied with a proportional increase of power, and by the end of the Holy War, Venice, in particular, became a great maritime state, possessing an extensive commerce and ample territories.

Communications being thus opened between Europe and the western provinces of Asia, several persons were encouraged to advance far beyond the countries, in which the crusaders carried on their operations, and to travel by land into the more remote and opulent regions of the East. The wild fanaticisms, which seem at that period to have mingled in all the schemes of individuals, no less than in all the councils of nations, first incited men to enter upon these long and dangerous excursions. They were afterwards undertaken from prospects of commercial advantage, or from motives of mere curiosity.

In the midst of this rising desire for discovery a very fortunate event took place, which contributed more than all the efforts and ingenuity of preceding ages to improve and extend navigation. That wonderful property of the magnet, by which it communicates such virtue to a needle or slender rod of iron, as to point towards the poles of the earth, was happily discovered. The use which might be made of this in directing navigation, was immediately perceived. From hence, that most valuable, but now familiar instrument, the mariner's compass was formed. As soon as navigators found by means of this, that at all seasons, and in every place, they could discover the North and South with so much ease and accuracy, it became no longer necessary to depend merely on the light of the stars, and the observation of the sea-coast. They gradually abandoned their ancient timid and lingering course along the shore, launched boldly into the ocean, and relying on this new guide, could steer in the darkest night, and under the most cloudy sky, with a security and precision hitherto unknown. The compass may be said to have opened to man the dominion of the sea, and to have put him in full possession of the earth, by enabling him to visit every part of it.

About the year 1365, Providence seemed to have decreed, that at this period men were to pass the limits within which they had been so long confined, and open to themselves a more ample field; wherein to display their talents, their enterprise, and courage. The first considerable efforts towards this were not made by any of the more powerful states of Europe, or by those who had applied to navigation with the greatest assiduity and success. The glory of taking the lead in this bold attempt was reserved for the Portuguese, whose kingdom was the smallest and least powerful of any in Europe. As the attempts of the Portuguese to acquire the knowledge of those parts of the globe, with which mankind were then unacquainted, not only improved and extended the art of navigation, but roused such a spirit of curiosity and enterprize,

as led to the discovery of the New World, of which we are presently to give the history.

Various circumstances urged the Portuguese to exert their activity in this new direction, and enabled them to accomplish undertakings apparently superior to the natural force of their monarchy. John I. King of Portugal, surnamed the Bastard, having obtained secure possession of the crown, in the year 1411, soon perceived, that it would be impossible to preserve public order, or domestic tranquillity, without finding some employment for the restless spirit of his subjects. With this view, he assembled a numerous fleet at Lisbon, composed of all the ships he could fit out in his own kingdom, and of many hired from foreigners. This great armament fitted out in 1412, was destined to attack the Moors settled on the coasts of Barbary. While the fleet was equipping, a few vessels were appointed to sail along the western shore of Africa, bounded by the Atlantic ocean, and to discover the unknown countries situated there.

The particular situation of Portugal was an invitation to this new undertaking, and the genius of the age being favourable to the execution of it, it proved successful. The vessels sent on the discovery doubled the formidable Cape Non, which had terminated the progress of former navigators, and proceeded one hundred and sixty miles beyond it, to Cape Bojador. As its rocky cliffs, which stretched a considerable way into the Atlantic, appeared more dreadful than the promontory they had passed, the Portuguese commander was afraid to attempt to sail round it, but returned to Lisbon, more satisfied with having advanced so far, than ashamed of not having gone further.

Though this voyage was in itself inconsiderable, yet it increased the passion for discovery, which began to shew itself in Portugal. The fortunate issue of the king's expedition against the Moors of Barbary, added strength to that spirit in the nation, and pushed it on to new undertakings. In order to render these successful, it was necessary, that they should be conducted by a person who possessed abilities capable of discerning what was attainable, who enjoyed leisure to form a regular system for prosecuting discovery, and who was animated with ardour, that would persevere in spite of obstacles and repulses: happily for Portugal, she found all these qualities in Henry duke of Viseo, the fourth son of King John. That prince, in his early youth having accompanied his father in his expedition to Barbary, distinguished himself by many deeds of valour. To the marshal spirit which was the characteristic of every man of noble birth at that period, he added all the accomplishments of a more enlightened and polished age. He cultivated the arts and sciences, which were then little known, and despised by persons of his exalted situation. He was particularly fond of the study of geography, and he early acquired such a knowledge of the habitable globe, as discovered the great probability of finding new and opulent countries, by sailing along the coast of Africa.



The commencement of every new undertaking is usually attended with trifling success. In the year 1418 he fitted out a single ship, and gave the command of it to two gentlemen of his household, who offered themselves as volunteers to conduct the enterprise. He instructed them to double Cape Bojador, and thence to steer towards the south. They held their course along the shore, the mode of navigation which still prevailed, when a sudden squall of wind arose, which drove them out to sea, and, when they expected every moment to perish, it blew them on an unknown island, which, from their happy escape, they named Porto Santo. They instantly returned to Portugal with the news of their discovery, and were received by Henry with the applause and honour due to fortunate adventurers.

The next year Henry sent out three ships under the same commanders, in order to make a settlement in Porto Santo. From this island they observed towards the south a fixed spot in the horizon, like a small black cloud. They were by degrees led to conjecture it might be land, and steering towards it, they arrived at a considerable island, uninhabited and covered with wood, which on that account they called Madeira. As it was Henry's principal object to render his discoveries useful to his country, he immediately equipped a fleet to carry a colony of Portuguese to these islands. He took care that they should be furnished not only with the seeds, plants, and domestic animals common in Europe, but, as he foresaw that the warmth of the climate and fertility of the soil, would prove favourable to the rearing of other productions, he procured slips of the vine from the island of Cyprus, the rich wines of which were then in great request, and plants of the sugar cane from Sicily, into which it had been recently introduced. These thrived so prosperously in this new country, that the advantage of their culture was immediately perceived, and the sugar and wine of Madeira, soon became considerable articles of commerce, from which the Portuguese derived great advantage.

These important successes gave a spur to the spirit of discovery, and induced the Portuguese, instead of servilely creeping along the coast, to venture into the open sea. They doubled Cape Bojador, in 1433, and advanced within the tropics. In the course of a few years they discovered the river Senegal, and all the coast extending from Cape Blanco, to Cape de Verde.

The Portuguese had hitherto been guided in their discoveries, or encouraged to attempt them, by the light and information they received from the works of the ancient mathematicians and geographers; but when they began to enter the torrid zone, the notions which prevailed among the ancients that the heat was so intense as to render it insupportable, deterred them, for some time, from proceeding. However, notwithstanding these unfavourable appearances, in 1449 the Portuguese discovered the Cape de Verde islands, which lie off the promontory of that name, and soon after the isles called Azores. As the former of these are above three hundred miles from the African coast and the lat-

er nine hundred miles from any continent, it is evident that the Portuguese had made great advances in the art of navigation.

The passion for discoveries received an unfortunate check by the death of Prince Henry, whose superior knowledge had hitherto directed all the operations of the discoverers and whose patronage had encouraged and protected them. However notwithstanding all the advantages they derived from hence, the Portuguese, during his life, did not advance, in their utmost progress towards the south, within five degrees of the equinoctial line ; and after their continued exertions for half a century, hardly 1500 miles of the coast of Africa was discovered.

The Portuguese in 1471, ventured to cross the line, and, to their astonishment, found that region of the torrid zone, which was supposed to be scorched with intolerable heat, to be habitable, populous, and fertile.

Under the direction of John II. in 1484, a powerful fleet was fitted out, which advanced above fifteen hundred miles beyond the line, and the Portuguese, for the first time beheld a new heaven, and observed the stars of another hemisphere.

By their constant intercourse with the people of Africa, they gradually acquired some knowledge of those parts of that country, which they had not visited. The information they received from the natives, added to what they had observed in their own voyages, began to open prospects of a more extensive nature. They found, as they proceeded southward, that the continent of Africa, instead of extending in breadth, according to the doctrine of Ptolemy, appeared sensibly to contract itself and to bend towards the east. This induced them to give credit to the ancient Phenician voyages round Africa, which had long been considered as fabulous, and gave them reason to hope, that by following the same route, they might arrive at the East Indies, and engross that commerce, which had so long contributed to enrich other powers.

In 1486, the conduct of a voyage for this purpose, the most dangerous and difficult the Portuguese had ever embarked in, was entrusted to Bartholomew Diaz, who stretched boldly towards the south, and proceeding beyond the utmost limits to which his countrymen had hitherto advanced discovered near a thousand miles of a new country. Neither the combined powers of violent tempests, and the frequent mutinies of his crew, nor even the calamities of famine, which he suffered from losing his storeship, could deter him from the pursuit of his grand object. In spite of all, he at last discovered that lofty promontory, which bounds Africa to the south ; but he did nothing more than discover it. The violence of the winds, the shattered condition of his ships, and the turbulent spirit of his sailors compelled him to return after a voyage of sixteen months. The king of Portugal, as he now entertained no doubt of having found the long desired rout to India, gave this promontory the name of the Cape of Good Hope.

These sanguine ideas of success were strengthened by the intelligence the king received over land, in consequence of his em-

bassy to Abyssinia. Covillam and Payva, by the King's instructions, had repaired to Grand Cairo. From this city they travelled in company with a caravan of Egyptian merchants, and embarking on the Red Sea, arrived at Arden, in Arabia. There they separated; Payva sailed directly towards Abyssinia; Covillam embarked for the East Indies, and having visited Calecut, Goa, and other cities of the Malabar coast, returned to Sofala, on the east side of Africa, and thence to Grand Cairo, which Payva and he had fixed upon as their place of meeting. The former however was unfortunately and cruelly murdered in Abyssinia: but Covillam found at Cairo two Portuguese Jews, whom the King of Portugal had dispatched after them, in order to receive an account of their proceedings, and to communicate to them new instructions. By one of these Jews Covillam transmitted to Portugal a journal of his proceedings by sea and land, his remarks upon the trade of India, together with exact maps of the coast on which he had touched; and from what he himself had observed, as well as from the information of skilful seamen in different countries, he concluded, that by sailing round Africa, a passage might be found to the East Indies. The happy coincidence of Covillam's report and opinion with the discoveries lately made by Diaz, left hardly any shadow of doubt with respect to the possibility of sailing from Europe. However, the vast length of the voyage, and the furious storms, which Diaz had encountered near the Cape of Good Hope, alarmed and intimidated the Portuguese to such a degree, although they were become adventurous and skilful mariners, that some time was requisite to prepare their minds for this dangerous and extraordinary voyage.

#### MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

*Introduction of commercial pursuits.*

*Imperfections of navigation among the ancients.*

*Navigation and commerce of the Egyptians, Phenicians, Jews, Carthaginians, Greeks, and Romans.*

*The first regular plan of discovery formed by the Portuguese.*

*The use of the mariners, compass discovered about 1322.*

*The Portuguese doubled Cape Bojador about the year 1412.*

*Attempts to discover a new route to the East Indies.*

*Voyage of Bartholomew Diaz, in 1486 who penetrated as far as the Cape of Good Hope.*

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## CHAP. II.

**CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS**, a subject to the republic of Genoa, was among the foremost of those foreigners whom the fame of the discoveries made by the Portuguese had allured into their service. Though neither the time nor place of his birth are certainly known, yet it was on all hands agreed, that he was descended from



an honourable family reduced to indigence by misfortunes. As his ancestors were accustomed to a sea-faring life, Columbus became naturally fond of it himself, and very early discovered those talents for that profession, which plainly indicated the great man he was one day to be. He applied with uncommon ardour to the study of the latin tongue, geography, astronomy, and the art of drawing. Thus qualified, in 1461, at the age of fourteen, he went to sea, and began his career on that element, which conducted him to so much glory.

In 1467, he repaired to Lisbon, where many of his countrymen were settled. They soon conceived such a favourable opinion of his merit and talents, that they warmly solicited him to remain in their kingdom, where his naval skill and experience could not fail of rendering him conspicuous.

To find out a passage by sea to the East Indies, was the great object in view at that period. From the time that the Portuguese doubled Cape de Verde, this was the point at which they aimed in all their navigations. The tediousness of the course, which the Portuguese were pursuing, naturally led Columbus to consider, whether a shorter and more direct passage to the East Indies, than that projected by sailing round the African continent, might not be found out. After revolving long and seriously every circumstance suggested by his superior knowledge in the theory, as well as practice of navigation, after comparing attentively the observations of modern pilots, with the hints and conjectures of ancient authors, he at last concluded, that by sailing directly towards the West, across the Atlantic ocean, new countries, which probably formed a part of the vast continent of India, must infallibly be discovered.

Filled with these ideas, he laid his scheme before the senate of Genoa, and making his country the first tender of his service, offered to sail under the banners of the republic, in quest of the new regions he expected to discover; but they inconsiderately rejected his proposal, as a dream of a chimerical projector. He then submitted his plan to the Portuguese, who endeavoured to rob him of the honour, by sending another person privately to pursue the same track proposed by him; but the pilot chosen to execute Columbus's plan, had neither the genius nor the fortitude of its author. Contrary winds arose, no sight of approaching land appeared, his courage failed, and he returned to Lisbon, execrating a plan, which he had no abilities to execute.

Columbus no sooner discovered this dishonourable treatment, than he instantly quitted Portugal in disgust, and repaired to Spain about the close of the year 1484. Here he resolved to propose it in person to Ferdinand and Isabella, who at that time governed the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. He also sent his brother to England, to propose his plan to Henry VIII.

After a long succession of mortifying circumstances and disappointments, Isabella was persuaded to send for Columbus to court. The cordial reception he there met with from the queen, together

with the near prospect of setting out upon that voyage, which had so long been the object of his thoughts and wishes, soon effaced the remembrance of all that he had suffered in Spain, during eight tedious years of solicitation and suspense. The negotiation now went forward rapidly, and a treaty with Columbus was signed on the 17th of April, 1492.

The chief articles of it were, 1. Ferdinand and Isabella, as sovereigns of the ocean, constituted Columbus their high admiral in all the seas, islands, and continents, which should be discovered by his industry; and stipulated, that he and his heirs should enjoy this office, with the same powers and prerogatives, which belonged to the high admiral of Castile, within the limits of his jurisdiction. 2. They appointed Columbus their viceroy in all the islands and continents which he should discover: but if, for the better administration of affairs, it should hereafter be necessary to establish a separate governor in any of those countries, they authorized Columbus to name three persons, of whom they would choose one for that office; and the dignity of viceroy, with all its immunities, was likewise to be hereditary in the family of Columbus. 3. They granted to Columbus and his heirs, for ever, the tenth of the free profits accruing from the productions and commerce of the countries which he should discover. 4. They declared, that if any controversy or law suit should arise with respect to any merchantile transaction in the countries which should be discovered, it should be determined by the sole authority of Columbus, or of judges to be appointed by him. 5. They permitted Columbus to advance one eighth part of what should be expended in preparing for the expedition, and in carrying on commerce with the countries which he should discover, and intitled him, in return, to an eighth part of the profit.

Ferdinand, though his name appears conjoined with that of Isabella in this transaction, refused to take any part in it as King of Arragon, his distrust of Columbus being very violent.

After all the efforts of Isabella and Columbus, the armament was not suitable, either to the dignity of the power who equipped it, or to the importance of the service to which it was destined. It consisted of three vessels. The largest, a ship of no considerable burden, was commanded by Columbus, as admiral, who gave it the name of Santa Maria. Of the second called the *Pinta*, Martin Pinzon was captain, and his brother Francis pilot. The third, named the *Nigna*, was under the command of Vincent Yanez Pinzon. These two were light vessels, hardly superior in burden or force to large boats. The sum employed in the whole of this equipment did not exceed 4000*l*.

On the 3d day of August, 1492, Columbus set sail, a little before sun-rise in presence of a vast crowd of spectators, who sent up their supplications to Heaven for the prosperous issue of the voyage, which they wished rather than expected. Columbus steered directly for the Canary Islands, from whence he departed on the 6th of September. In the short run to the Canaries, the ships were



found to be so crazy and ill appointed, as to be very improper for a navigation, which was expected to be both long and dangerous.

Columbus, on leaving the Canaries, held his course due west, left immediately the usual track of navigation, and stretched into unfrequented and unknown seas. By the 14th of September, the fleet was about two hundred leagues to the West of the Canary islands, at a greater distance from land than any Spaniard had been before that time. Columbus early discovered from the spirit of his followers, that he must prepare to struggle, not only with the unavoidable difficulties, which might be expected from the nature of his undertaking, but with such as were likely to arise from the ignorance and timidity of the people under his command. All the art and address he was master of was hardly sufficient to quell the mutinous disposition of his sailors; who grew the more turbulent in proportion as their distance increased from home.

On the 11th of October, Columbus was so confident of being near land, that he ordered the sails to be furled, and the ships to lie by, keeping strict watch, lest they should be driven on shore in the night. During this interval of suspense and expectation, no man shut his eyes, all kept upon deck, gazing intently towards that quarter where they expected to discover the land, which had been so long the object of their wishes. A little after midnight, the joyful sound of *land! land!* was heard from the *Pinta*, which kept always a-head of the other ships; but, having been so often deceived by fallacious appearances, every man was now become slow of belief, and waited, in all the anguish of uncertainty and impatience, for the return of day.

On the 12th of October, as soon as morning dawned, all doubts and fears were dispelled. From every ship an island was seen about two leagues to the North, whose flat and verdant fields, well stored with wood, and watered with many rivulets, presented the aspect of a delightful country. The crew of the *Pinta* instantly began the *Te Deum*, as a hymn of thanksgiving to God, and were joined by those of the other ships, with tears of joy and transports of congratulation. They then on their knees begged pardon of Columbus for the mutinous spirit they had shewn, acknowledged his superior abilities, and promised implicit obedience to his will in future.

The boats being manned and armed as soon as the sun arose, they rowed towards the island with their colours displayed, warlike music, and other martial pomp. As they approached the coast they saw it covered with a multitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn together, whose attitudes and gestures expressed wonder and astonishment at the strange objects before them. He landed in a rich dress, with a sword in his hand. His men followed, and kneeling down, they all kissed the ground which they had so long desired to see. They then took solemn possession of the country for the crown of Castile and Leon.

The dress of the Spaniards, the whiteness of their skins, their beards, their arms, appeared strange and surprising to the natives.



The vast machines in which they had traversed the ocean, that seemed to move upon the water with wings, and uttered a dreadful sound resembling thunder accompanied with lightening and smoke, struck them with such terror, that they began to consider them as children of the Sun, who had descended to visit mortals here below.

The Spaniards were no less surprised at the novelty of their situation. Every herb, shrub, and tree, was different from those which flourished in Europe. The inhabitants appeared in the simple innocence of nature, entirely naked. Their black hair, long and uncurled, floated upon their shoulders, or was bound in tresses round their heads. They had no beards, and every part of their bodies was perfectly smooth. Their complexion was of a dusky copper colour, their features singular, rather than disagreeable, and their aspect gentle and timid. They were at first shy through fear, but soon became familiar with the Spaniards, and with transports of joy received from them hawks-bells, glass beads, or other baubles, in return for which they gave such provisions as they had, and some cotton yarn, the only commodity of value that they could produce. Thus in the first interview between the inhabitants of the new and old worlds, every thing was conducted amicably and to their mutual satisfaction.

Columbus now assumed the title and authority of admiral and viceroy, and called the island he had discovered San Salvador. It is one of that large cluster of islands called the Lucaya or Bahama isles. It is situated above 3000 miles to the west of Gomera from whence the squadron took its departure, and only four degrees to the south of it.

It soon appeared evident to Columbus that this was but a poor place, and consequently not the object of his pursuit. But, conformably to this theory concerning the discovery of those regions of Asia, which stretched towards the east, he concluded that San Salvador was one of the isles, which geographers described as situated in the vast ocean adjacent to India; but he was herein mistaken. Having observed, that most of the people whom he had seen wore small plates of gold, by way of ornament, in their nostrils, he eagerly enquired where they got that precious metal. They pointed towards the south, and made him comprehend by signs, that gold abounded in countries situated in that quarter.

In consequence of this intelligence, he sailed to the southward and saw several Islands. He touched at those of the largest, on which he bestowed the names of St. Mary, Fernandina, and Isabella; but, as his inquiries were after gold, and none of them produced any, he made no stay in any of them. He afterwards discovered Cuba, and soon after fell in with Hispaniola.

Columbus, still intent on discovering the mines which yielded gold, sailed from hence on the 24th of December, 1492. The great variety of business in which he was engaged having prevented Columbus from taking any sleep for two days, he retired at midnight to take some repose, having committed the helm to the

pilot, with strict injunction not to quit it for a moment. The pilot dreading no danger, carelessly left the helm to an unexperienced cabin-boy, and the ship, carried away by a current, was dashed against a rock. The violence of the shock awaked Columbus. He ran up to the deck, where all was confusion and despair, he alone retaining presence of mind. However all his endeavours were in vain; the vessel opened near the keel, and filled so fast with water, that its loss was inevitable. The boats from the *Nigra* saved the crew, and the natives in their canoes did every thing in their power to serve them, by whose assistance they saved almost every thing that was valuable.

The distress of Columbus was at this time very great. The *Pinta* had sailed away from him, and he suspected was treacherously gone to Europe. There remained but one vessel, and that the smallest and most crazy of the squadron, to traverse such a vast ocean, and carry so many men back to Europe. He resolved therefore to leave a part of his crew on the island, that, by residing there, they might learn the language of the natives, study their dispositions, search for mines, and prepare for the commodious settlement of the colony, with which he proposed to return. Having settled this business with his men and the natives, he built a fort and placed in it the guns saved out of his own ship. He appointed thirty-eight of his people to remain on the island, under the command of Diego de Arada, and furnished them with every thing requisite for the subsistence or defence of the infant colony.

Having thus settled matters, he left *Navidad* on the 4th. of January, 1493, and stretching towards the east, discovered and gave names to most of the harbours on the northern coast of the Island. On the 6th he descried the *Pinta*, and soon came up with her after an absence of six weeks. Pinzon endeavoured to justify his conduct, and though Columbus was by no means satisfied in his own mind, yet he thought it prudent to dissemble at present, and accordingly received him again into favour. Pinzon during his absence from the admiral, had visited several harbours in the islands, had acquired some gold by traffic with the natives, but had made no discovery of any importance.

Columbus now found it necessary, from the condition of his ships, and the temper of his men, to return to Europe. Accordingly, on the 16th of January, he directed his course towards the northeast, and soon lost sight of land. The voyage was prosperous to the 14th. of February, when he was overtaken by so violent a storm, that all hopes of surviving it were given up. At length Providence interposed to save a life reserved for other purposes; and, after experiencing a second storm almost as dreadful as the first, he arrived at the Azores, then Lisbon, and reached Spain on the 15th of March, in the port of Palos, seven months and eleven days from the time when he set out from thence upon his voyage.

Columbus was received, on his landing, with all the honours due to his great abilities; and Ferdinand and Isabella were no less



astonished than delighted with this unexpected event. Every mark of honour, that gratitude or admiration could suggest, was conferred upon Columbus. Letters patent were issued, confirming to him and his heirs all the privileges contained in the capitulation concluded at Santa Fe; his family was ennobled, and the king, queen, and courtiers, treated him as a person of the highest rank. But what pleased him most was an order to equip, without delay, an armament of such force, as might enable him not only to take possession of the countries he had already discovered, but to go in search of those more opulent regions, which he still confidently expected to find.

Cautious as Ferdinand was, and averse to every thing new and adventurous, preparations for a second expedition were carried on with a rapidity unusual in Spain, and to an extent that would be deemed not inconsiderable in the present age. The fleet consisted of seventeen ships, some of which were of good burthen. It had on board fifteen hundred persons, among whom were many of noble families, who had served in honourable stations.

Every thing being ready, Columbus set sail from the bay of Cadiz on the 25th day of September, 1493, and arrived at Hispaniola on the 22d of November. When he appeared off Navidad, from the station in which he had left the thirty eight men under the command of Arada, he was astonished that none of them appeared, and expected every moment to see them running with transports of joy to welcome their countrymen. But he soon found, that the imprudent and licentious behaviour of his men had roused the resentment of the natives, who at last destroyed them all and burned their fort.

He then traced out the plan of a town in a large plain, near a spacious bay, and obliged every person to put his hand to a work on which their common safety depended. This rising city, the first that the Europeans founded in the New World, he named Isabella, in honour of his patroness the queen of Castile.

His followers loudly complained of being obliged to turn builders, where they expected to meet with riches and luxuries. He therefore found it necessary to proceed in quest of these golden shadows. Having settled every thing respecting the government of the new colony in his absence, he weighed anchor on the 24th of April, 1494, with one ship and two small barks under his command. During a tedious voyage of full five months, he had a trial of almost all the numerous hardships, to which persons of his profession are exposed, without making any discovery of importance, except the island of Jamaica.

On his return to Hispaniola, he met with his brother Bartholomew at Isabella, after an absence of near thirteen years, which gave him inexpressible joy. He could not have arrived more seasonably, as the Spaniards were not only threatened with famine, but even with an insurrection of the natives owing to the shameful liberties the new settlers took with the women and property of the Indians, who united their forces to drive these formidable invaders



from the settlements, of which they had violently taken possession.

On the twenty-fourth of March, Columbus took the field with his little army, which consisted only of two hundred foot, twenty horse, and twenty large dogs; and how strange soever it may seem to mention the last as composing part of a military force, they were not perhaps the least formidable and destructive of the whole, when employed against naked and timid Indians. If we may believe the Spanish historians, the Indian army amounted to 100,000 men; but they were ignorant of the arts of war, and had nothing but clubs and arrows for their defence. Columbus attacked them during the night, and obtained an easy and bloody victory. Many were killed, more taken prisoners, and reduced to servitude; and so thoroughly were the rest intimidated, that they abandoned themselves to despair, considering their enemies as invincible.

Columbus employed several months in marching through the island, and in subjecting it to the Spanish government, without meeting with any opposition. He imposed a tribute upon all the inhabitants above fourteen years of age. Each person who lived in those districts where gold was found, was obliged to pay quarterly as much gold dust as filled a hawk's bell; from those in other parts of the country, twenty pounds of cotton were demanded. This was the first regular taxation of the Indians, and served as a precedent for exactions, still more exorbitant. Such an imposition was extremely contrary to those maxims which Columbus had hitherto inculcated, with respect to the mode of treating them.

The condition of the Indians became insupportable, and they endeavoured to starve the Spaniards, by destroying all the produce of the earth, and then retired to the mountains. This reduced the Spaniards to extreme want; but they received such seasonable supplies of provisions from Europe, and found so many resources in their ingenuity and industry, that they suffered no great loss of men.

Columbus finding he had many enemies in the court of Spain, resolved to return home in order to justify himself, leaving his brother Bartholomew as lieutenant, governor, and Francis Roldon chief justice. He was received at court, on his arrival, with so many marks of approbation, after having perfectly cleared up his conduct, as made his enemies ashamed of themselves, and it was resolved to send him on discoveries a third time.

After innumerable disappointments and delays, he sailed on his third voyage on the 30th day of May, 1498. His squadron consisted of six ships only, of no great burden, and but indifferently provided for so long and dangerous a navigation.

He sailed in a different direction to what he had hitherto done, in order to fall in with the coast of India. On the 1st of August, the man stationed in the round top surprized them with the joyful cry of *land*. They stood towards it and discovered a considerable

island, which the admiral called Trinidad, a name it still retains. He did not arrive at Hispaniola till the 30th of August, when he found the affairs of the colony in such a situation as afforded him no prospect of enjoying that repose, of which he stood so much in need.

Many revolutions had happened in that country during his absence. His brother, the deputy governor, in consequence of the advice the admiral gave him before his departure, had removed the colony from Isabella to a more commodious station, on the opposite side of the island, and laid the foundation of St. Domingo. The natives were soon after reduced to the Spanish yoke, which appeared so oppressive to them, that they rose in their own defence, but were easily conquered. At the same time, Roldon, whom Columbus had placed in a station, which required him to be the guardian of order and tranquillity, persuaded the colony to rise in arms.

Such was the distracted state of the colony when Columbus arrived at St. Domingo, but his wisdom and moderation soon brought every thing to order.

While Columbus was thus engaged in the west, the spirit of discovery did not languish in Portugal. Emanuel, who inherited the enterprising genius of his predecessors, persisted in their grand scheme of opening a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope; and soon after his accession to the throne he equipped a squadron for that important voyage. He gave the command of it to Vasco de Gama, a man of noble birth, possessed of virtue, prudence, and courage, equal to the station. The squadron, like all those fitted out for discovery in the infancy of navigation, was extremely feeble, consisting only of three vessels, of neither burthen nor force adequate to the service.

He set sail from Lisbon on the 9th of July, 1497, and standing towards the South, had to struggle for four months with contrary winds, before he could reach the Cape of Good Hope: Here their violence began to abate, and during an interval of calm weather, in the latter end of November, Gama doubled that formidable promontory, which had so long been the boundary of navigation, and directed his course towards the northeast, along the African coast. He touched at several ports, and after various adventures he came to an anchor before the city of Meleida. Gama now pursued his voyage with almost absolute certainty of success, and under the conduct of a Mahometan pilot he arrived at Calcut, upon the coast of Malabar, on the 22d of May, 1498.

What he beheld of the wealth, the populousness, the cultivation, the industry, and arts of this highly civilized country, far exceeded any idea that he had formed from the imperfect accounts which the Europeans had hitherto received of it. But as he possessed neither sufficient force to attempt a settlement, nor proper commodities with which he could carry on commerce of any consequence, he hastened back to Portugal, with an account of his success in performing a voyage the longest, as well as the most diffi-



cult, that had ever been made since the first invention of navigation. He landed at Lisbon on the 14th of September, 1499, two years, two months, and five days from the time he left that port.

Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine gentleman, having accompanied Ojeda in a voyage to the New World, on his return transmitted an account of his adventures and discoveries to one of his countrymen, and labouring with the vanity of a traveller to magnify his own exploits, he had the address and confidence to frame his narrative, so as to make it appear, that he had the glory of having first discovered the continent in the New World. The country, of which Amerigo was supposed to be discoverer, came gradually to be called by his name. By the universal consent of nations, America is the name bestowed on this new quarter of the globe. The bold pretensions of a fortunate imposter have robbed the discoverer of the New World of a distinction which belonged to him. The name of Amerigo has supplanted that of Columbus, and it is now too late to redress the injury.

During the last year of the fourteenth century, Pedro Alvarez Cabral was fitted out by the king of Portugal in order to carry on trade or attempt conquests in India, to which place Gama had just shewn them the way. In order to avoid the coast of Africa, where he was certain of meeting with variable breezes, or frequent calms, which might retard his voyage, Cabral stood out to sea, and kept so far to the west, that, to his surprize, he found himself upon the shore of an unknown country, in the tenth degree beyond the line. The country with which he fell in belongs to that province in South America, now known by the name of Brazil. He landed, and having formed a very high idea of the fertility of the soil, and agreeableness of the climate, he took possession of it for the crown of Portugal, and dispatched a ship to Lisbon with an account of this event, which appeared to be no less important than it was unexpected.

While the Spaniards and Portuguese were daily acquiring more enlarged ideas of the extent and opulence of that quarter of the globe which Columbus had made known to them, he himself, far from enjoying the tranquillity and honours, with which his services should have been recompensed, was struggling with every distress, in which the envy and malevolence of the people under his command, or the ingratitude of the court which he served could involve him.

As soon as the court of Spain became prejudiced against Columbus, a fatal resolution was taken. Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of Clatrava, was appointed to repair to Hispaniola, with full powers to inquire into the conduct of Columbus; and, if he should find the charge of mal-administration proved, to supercede him, and assume the government of the island. It was impossible to escape when this preposterous commission, made it the interest of the judge to pronounce the person, whom he was sent to try, guilty of every charge. What followed cannot at all appear



surprising ; Columbus was sent to Spain loaded with chains. Fortunately, his voyage to Spain was extremely short, where he arrived on the 23d of November, 1500.

As soon as Ferdinand and Isabella, were informed that Columbus was brought home a prisoner, and in chains they were ashamed of their conduct and dreaded the censure of all Europe. They instantly issued orders to set Columbus at liberty, invited him to court, and remitted him money to enable him to appear there in a manner suitable to his rank. On his appearance at court, the modest manner in which he told his tale, and related his grievances, were felt by every one, the new governor of Hispanola was recalled, and Ovando was sent in his room.

While the necessary steps were taking for securing the prosperity and welfare of the colony which Columbus had planted, he himself was engaged in the unpleasant employment of soliciting the favour of an ungrateful court, and notwithstanding all his merit and services he solicited in vain. After attending the court of Spain for near two years, as an humble suitor, he found it impossible to remove Ferdinand's prejudices and apprehensions, and perceived at length, that he laboured in vain, when he urged a claim of justice or merit with an interested, ungenerous, and unfeeling prince.

However, Columbus, at last, prevailed on the court of Spain to fit him out on his fourth expedition, which they were persuaded to embark in, on the promised hope of his finding out a shorter and safer rout to the East Indies. He accordingly sailed from Cadiz, on the 9th of May, 1502, with only four small barks, the largest of which did not exceed seventy tons in burthen. On his arrival at Hispaniola, he meet with the most ungenerous treatment from Ovando, who would not suffer him to enter their harbours.

After various and fruitless attempts to discover a passage to the Indian ocean, Columbus meet with all the disasters to which navigation is exposed. Furious hurricanes, with violent storms of thunder and lightening, threatened his destruction, and at last drove him on the coast of Jamaica, where his little crazy fleet was wrecked, on the 24th of June, 1503.

The distress of Columbus in this situation was truly lamentable, but his genius rose above every thing. He supported the insolence and cruelty of the inhabitants, the still more alarming mutiny of his men, and the infamous conduct of the governor of Hispaniola, till some ships appeared, when the Spaniards quitted an island in which the unfeeling jealousy of Ovando had suffered them to languish above a year.

On the 12th of September, 1504, he set sail for Spain with two ships, and his ill fortune pursued him even in his passage home, being overtaken by a storm, and with the greatest difficulty got back to Spain. On his arrival, he received the fatal news of the death of his patroness Queen Isabella.

Columbus disgusted with the ingratitude of a monarch, whom he had served with such fidelity and success, exhausted with the fa-

tigues and hardships he had endured, and broken with the infirmities these brought upon him, ended his life at Validolid, on the 20th of May, 1506, in the 59th year of his age.

MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

- 1492 *Columbus sets out on his first voyage.  
Discovers the island of Cuba and Hispaniola.*
- 1493 *Columbus sets out on his second voyage.*
- 1494 *Discovers the island of Jamaica.*
- 1498 *Third voyage of Columbus, he discovers the continent of America.*
- 1499 *The Portuguese sail to the East Indies, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope.  
On what account the name of America was given to the New World.*
- 1500 *Columbus sent in chains to Spain.*
- 1502 *He sets out on his fourth voyage.  
Searches in vain for a passage to the East Indies.*
- 1503 *Shipwrecked on the island of Jamaica.*
- 1506 *Death of Columbus.*

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CHAP. III.

THE colony of Hispaniola, before the death of Columbus, had gradually acquired the form of a regular and prosperous state. The humane solicitude of Isabella to protect the indians from oppression, and particularly the proclamation, by which the Spaniards were prohibited to compel them to work, for some time, it is true, retarded the progress of improvement. The natives considering every exemption from toil as a supreme felicity, despised every allurement and reward by which they were invited to labour. The Spaniards were not numerous enough, either to work the mines or cultivate the soil, the distempers peculiar to the climate having carried off great numbers.

In order to save the colony from ruin, Ovando ventured to relax the rigour of some royal edicts that had been sent to him. He made a new distribution of the indians among the Spaniards, and compelled them to labour for a stated time, in digging the mines, or in cultivating the grounds; but in order to screen himself from the imputation of having subjected them again to servitude, he enjoined their masters to pay them a certain sum, as the price of their work. But the indians, after enjoying respite from oppression, though during a short interval, now found the yoke of bondage to be so galling, that they made several attempts to vindicate their own liberty. However they were subdued as often as they rose, and the treatment they received from Ovando was both cruel and treacherous.

The attention of the Spaniards was so much engrossed by their operations in the mines of Hispaniola, that the spirit of discovery languished for some time. In 1508 Juan Ponce de Leon, who commanded under Ovando, in the eastern district of Hispaniola, passed over to the island of St. Juan de Puerto Rico, which Columbus had discovered in his second voyage, and penetrated into the interior parts of the country. As he found the soil to be fertile, and expected, from symptoms, as well as from the information of the inhabitants, to discover mines of gold in the mountains, Ovando permitted him to attempt making a settlement in the island. In a few years, Puerto Rico was subjected to the Spanish government, the natives were reduced to servitude, and being treated with the same inconsiderate rigor as their neighbours in Hispaniola, the race of original inhabitants worn out with fatigue and sufferings, was soon exterminated.

Sebastian de Ocampo, by the command of Ovando, sailed round Cuba, and first discovered, with certainty, that this country which Columbus once supposed to be a part of the continent was only a large island.

This voyage round Cuba was one of the last occurrences under the administration of Ovando. Ever since the death of Columbus, his son Don Diego had been employed in soliciting Ferdinand to grant him the offices of Viceroy and Admiral in the New World, together with all the other immunities and profits which descended to him by inheritance, in consequence of the original capitulation with his father. But if these dignities and revenues appeared so considerable to Ferdinand, that, at the expense of being deemed unjust, as well as ungrateful, he had wrested them from Columbus, it is not surprizing that he should be unwilling to confer them on his son. Accordingly Don Diego wasted two years in incessant but fruitless importunity. Weary of this, he endeavoured at length to obtain, by a legal sentence, what he could not procure from the favour of an interested monarch. He commenced a suit against Ferdinand before the council which managed indian affairs, and that court with an integrity which reflects honour upon its proceedings, decided against the king, and confirmed all the privileges stipulated in the capitulation. Ferdinand still shewed his repugnance to do Diego justice, nor would he at last have done any thing had he not been in a manner forced to it by a powerful party, raised in consequence of the marriage of Don Diego with Donna Maria, daughter of Don Ferdinand, great commendator of Leon, and brother of the Duke of Alva, a nobleman of the first rank and nearly related to the king. The duke and his family espoused so warmly the cause of their new ally, that Ferdinand could not resist their solicitations.

In 1509, he recalled Ovando, and appointed Don Diego his successor, though even in conferring this favour he could not conceal his jealousy; for he allowed him to assume only the title of governor and not that of viceroy.



Don Diego immediately set off for Hispaniola, attended by his brother, his uncle, his wife, whom the courtesy of the Spaniards honoured with the title of Vice-queen, and a numerous retinue of both sexes, born of good families. He lived with a splendor and magnificence hitherto unknown in the new world, and the family of Columbus seemed now to enjoy the honours and rewards due to his inventive genius of which he himself had been cruelly defrauded. The colony itself acquired new lustre by the accession of so many inhabitants of a different rank and character from most of those who had hitherto emigrated to America, and many of the most illustrious families in the Spanish settlements are descended from the persons who at that time accompanied Don Diego Columbus.

Juan Diaz de Solis, about this time set out in conjunction with Pinzon, upon new discoveries. They sailed due south, towards the equinoctial line, which Pinzon had formerly crossed, and advanced as far as the 40th degree of southern latitude. They were astonished to find that the continent of America stretched on the right hand, through all this vast extent of ocean. They landed in different places, to take possession in the name of their sovereign; but though the country appeared to be extremely fertile and inviting, their force was so small, having been fitted out rather for discovery than making settlements, that they left no colony behind them. Their voyage however, served to give the Spaniards more exalted and adequate ideas, with respect to the dimensions of the new world.

Private-adventurers attempted to make settlements on the new continent; but the loss of their ships by various accidents upon unknown coasts, the diseases peculiar to a climate the most noxious in all America, the want of provisions, unavoidable in a country imperfectly cultivated, dissensions among themselves, and the incessant hostilities of the natives, involved them in a succession of calamities, the bare recital of which would strike my readers with horror.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of this expedition, the Spaniards were not deterred from engaging in new schemes of a similar nature. Juan Ponce de Leon, in 1512, fitted out three ships at his own expense, for a voyage of discovery, and his reputation soon drew together a respectable body of followers. He directed his course towards the Lucayo islands; and, after touching at several of them, as well as of the Bahama isles, he stood to the South-west, and discovered a country hitherto unknown to the Spaniards, which he called Florida, either because he fell in with it on Palm Sunday, or on account of its gay and beautiful appearance. He attempted to land in different places, but met with such vigorous opposition from the natives, who were fierce and warlike, as convinced him, that an increase of force was requisite to effect a settlement. Satisfied with having opened a communication with a new country, of whose value and importance he conceived very sanguine hopes, he returned to Puerto Rico, through the channel now known by the name of the Gulf of Florida.

Soon after the expedition to Florida, a discovery of much greater importance was made in another part of America, Balboa, having been raised to the government of the small colony at Santa Maria in Darien, made frequent inroads into the adjacent country, and collected a considerable quantity of gold, which abounded more in that part of the continent than in the islands. In one of these excursions, the Spaniards contended with such eagerness about the division of some gold, that they were at the point of proceeding to acts of violence against one another. A young Indian prince, who was present, astonished at the high value they set upon a thing, of which he did not discern the use, tumbled the gold out of the balance with indignation, and, turning to the Spaniards, "Why do you quarrel," (said he) "about such a trifle? If you are so passionately fond of gold, as to abandon your own country, and to disturb the tranquillity of distant nations for its sake, I will conduct you to a region, where this metal, which seems to be the chief object of your admiration and desire, is so common, that the meanest utensils are formed of it."

Balboa and his companions, transported with what they heard, eagerly enquired where this happy country lay, and how they might arrive at it. He informed them, at the distance of six suns, that is, of six days journey towards the South, they should discover another ocean, near to which this wealthy kingdom was situated; but, if they intended to attack that powerful state, they must assemble forces far superior in number and strength to what they were at present. This was the first information which the Spaniards received concerning the southern ocean, or the opulent and extensive country known afterwards by the name of Peru.

Balboa, having mustered all the forces he could, which amounted only to 190 men, set out on this important expedition on the first of September, 1513, about the time the periodical rains began to abate. Though their guides had represented the breadth of the isthmus to be only a journey of six days, they had already spent twenty five in forcing their way through the woods and mountains. Many of them were ready to sink under such fatigue in that sultry climate, several were seized with the diseases peculiar to the country, and all become impatient to reach the period of their labors and sufferings. At length the indians assured them, that from the top of the next mountain they should discover the ocean which was the object of their wishes. When with infinite toil they had climbed up the greater part of that steep ascent, Balboa commanded his men to halt and advanced alone to the summit, that he might be the first who should enjoy such a spectacle which he had so long desired. As soon as he beheld the South Sea stretching in endless prospect below him, he fell on his knees, and lifting up his hands to heaven, returned thanks to God, who had conducted him to a discovery, so beneficial to his country, and so honourable to himself. His followers, observing his transports of joy, rushed forward to join his wonder, exultation and gratitude. They held on their course to the shore, with great alacrity, when Balboa advancing up



to the middle in the waves, with his buckler and sword, took possession of that ocean in the name of the king his master, and vowed to defend it.

That part of the great Pacific or Southern ocean, which Balboa first discovered, still retains the name of the Gulf of St. Michael, which he gave to it, and is situated to the east of Panama. From several of the petty princes, who governed in the districts adjacent to that gulf, he extorted provisions and gold by force of arms ; others sent them to him voluntarily. Together with the acquisition of this wealth, which served to soothe and encourage his followers, he received account which confirmed his sanguine hopes of future and more extensive benefits from this expedition. All the people on the coasts of the South Sea concurred in informing him, that there was a mighty and opulent kingdom situated at a considerable distance towards the south-east, where gold was found in plenty.

Though the information Balboa received from the people, on the coast, as well as his own conjectures and hopes, made him extremely impatient to visit this unknown country, his prudence restrained him from attempting to invade it with a handful of men, exhausted by fatigue, and weakened by diseases. He determined to lead back his followers to their settlement at Santa Maria in Darien, and to return next season with a force more adequate to such an arduous enterprize. He reached Santa Maria after an absence of four months, with greater glory and more treasure, than the Spaniards ever had acquired in any former expedition in the New World.

He took care to acquaint the court of Spain with the important discovery he had made and demanded a reinforcement of a thousand men, in order to attempt the conquest of that opulent country, concerning which he had received such inviting intelligence.

The meannesses and jealousies of Ferdinand, and the advice of men around him worse than himself, induced him to supercede Balboa, the most proper man he could have employed, and to appoint Pedrarias Davila governor of Darien. He gave him the command of fourteen stout vessels, and twelve hundred soldiers. These were fitted out at the public expense, and granted with a liberality unusual to Ferdinand.

Pedrarias reached the gulf at Darien without any remarkable accident, in July, 1514 ; but his ill conduct and base treatment of Balboa, stopped all operations, and nearly ruined this flourishing colony. Both parties sent home complaints to Spain against each other.

At length, Ferdinand became sensible of his imprudence in superceding the most active and experienced officer he had in the New World, and, by way of compensation to Balboa, he appointed him lieutenant governor of the countries upon the South Sea, with very extensive privileges and authority, at the same time ordering Pedrarias to support him in all his operations, and to consult him on every measure which he himself pursued. Surely nothing could



be more ridiculous and absurd in Ferdinand than this conduct ! Pedrarias now conceived the most implacable hatred to Balboa, and, though he afterwards seemed so far reconciled to him, as to give him his daughter in marriage, he soon found means falsely to accuse him of high treason, had him tried, condemned, and publicly executed in 1517. Pedrarias, notwithstanding the violence and injustice of his proceedings, was not only screened from punishment by the powerful patronage of the infamous bishop of Burgos, an inveterate enemy to real merit, but continued in the government.

While matters were thus going forward in Darien, several important events occurred with respect to the discovery, the conquest, and government of other provinces in the New World. Ferdinand was so intent upon opening a communication with the Molucca or Spice Islands by the west, that, in the year 1515, he fitted out two ships at his own expense, in order to attempt such a voyage, and gave the command of them to Juan Diaz de Solis, who was deemed one of the most skilful navigators in Spain. He stood along the coast of South America, and on the first of January, 1516, he entered a river which he called Janeiro, where an extensive commerce is now carried on. From thence he proceeded to a spacious bay which he supposed to be the entrance into a strait that communicated with the Indian ocean ; but upon advancing farther, he found it to be the mouth of the Rio de Plata, one of the vast rivers by which the southern continent of America is watered. In endeavouring to make a descent in this country, De Solis and several of his crew were slain by the natives ; who, in sight of the ships, cut their bodies in pieces, roasted and devoured them. Discouraged by the loss of their commander and terrified at this horrid spectacle, the surviving Spaniards set sail for Europe, without aiming at any further discovery. Though this attempt proved abortive it was not without benefit : it turned the attention of ingenious men to this course of navigation, and prepared the way for a more fortunate voyage.

While discoveries were thus going forward, Hispaniola continued as their principal colony, and the seat of government. Don Diego Columbus wanted neither inclination or abilities to have rendered the members of this colony, who were most immediately under his direction, prosperous and happy ; but he was circumscribed in all his operations by the suspicious policy of Ferdinand, who on every occasion, and under the most frivolous pretexts, retrenched his privileges, and encouraged the treasurer, the judges, and other subordinate officers, to counteract his measures, and to dispute his authority. In short, Ferdinand's conduct was so ungenerous, as obliged Don Diego to quit Hispaniola, and repair to Spain, in order to seek redress for his injuries.

On the death of Ferdinand, in 1517, Charles V. took possession of the government. Diego Velasquez, who conquered Cuba in the year 1511, still retained the government of that island, as the deputy of Don Diego Columbus, though he seldom acknowledged

his superior, and aimed at rendering his own authority altogether independent. Under his prudent administration, Cuba became one of the most flourishing of the Spanish settlements. The fame of this drew many persons from the other colonies, expecting there to find some permanent establishment; or some employment for their activity. As Cuba lay to the west of all the islands possessed by the Spaniards, and as the ocean which stretches beyond it towards that quarter, had not hitherto been explored, these circumstances naturally invited the inhabitants to attempt new discoveries.

An expedition for this purpose in which activity and resolution might conduct to sudden wealth, was more suited to the genius of the age, than the patient industry requisite in clearing ground, and manufacturing sugar. Hence it happened, that several officers who had served under Pedrarias in Darien, entered into an association to undertake a voyage of discovery. They persuaded Francisco Hernandez Cordova, an opulent planter in Cuba, and a man of great courage, to join with them in the adventure, and chose him to be their commander. Velasquez not only approved of the design, but assisted in carrying it on.

Three small vessels were purchased, and furnished with every thing requisite either for traffic or war. An hundred and ten men embarked on board them, and sailed from St. Jago de Cuba on the 8th of February, 1517.

On the twenty-first day after their departure from St. Jago, they saw land which proved to be Cape Catoche, the eastern point of that large peninsula projecting from the continent of America, which still retains its original name of Yucatan. As they approached the shore, five canoes came off full of people decently clad in cotton garments: an astonishing sight to the Spaniards, who had found every other part of America possessed by native savages. Cordova endeavoured by small presents to gain the good will of these people. They, though amazed at the strange objects now presented for the first time to their view, invited the Spaniards to visit their habitations, with an appearance of cordiality. They landed accordingly, and as they advanced into the country, they observed with new wonder some large houses built with stone: but they soon found, if the Yucatans had made progress in improvement beyond their countrymen, they were likewise more artful and warlike. Though the Indian chief received Cordova with many tokens of friendship, he had posted a considerable body of his subjects in ambush behind a thicket, who upon a signal given by him, rushed out and attacked the Spaniards with great boldness, and with some degree of martial order. At the first flight of the arrows, fifteen of the Spaniards were wounded; but the Indians were so terrified with the sudden explosion of the fire arms, and so surprised at the execution done by them, by the cross bows, and by the other weapons of their new enemies, that they precipitately fled. Cordova immediately quitted a country where he had met with so unwelcome a reception, carrying off



two prisoners, with the ornaments of a small temple which he plundered in making his retreat to his ships.

Cordova continued his course towards the west without losing sight of the coast, and on the sixteenth day arrived at Campeachy. At this place the natives received them more kindly ; but the Spaniards were much surprised, that on all the extensive coast along which they had sailed, they had not met with any river. Their water beginning to fail, they advanced in hopes of finding a supply ; at length they discovered the mouth of a river.

Cordova landed all his troops in order to protect his sailors, whose business it was to fill the casks ; but the natives rushed upon them with such fury, and in such numbers that forty seven of the Spaniards were killed on the spot and one man only of the whole body escaped unhurt. Their commander though wounded in twelve different places, directed the retreat with presence of mind equal to the courage with which he had led them on in the engagement, and with much difficulty they reached their ships. Having met with this terrible repulse, nothing remained but to hasten back to Cuba with their shattered forces. In their passage thither, they suffered the greatest distress from the want of water, that men wounded and sickly, shut up in small vessels, and exposed to the heat of the torrid zone, can be supposed to suffer. Some died on their passage and Cordova their commander, soon after he landed at Cuba paid the debt of nature.

Unfortunate as this expedition proved, it contributed rather to animate than damp a spirit of enterprize among the Spaniards. They had discovered an extensive country, situated in the neighbourhood of Cuba, fertile in appearance, and possessed by a people far more refined than any they had hitherto met with in America. Velasquez, through particular views of ambition and interest, not only encouraged their ardour, but at his own expense fitted out four ships for the voyage. Two hundred and forty volunteers, among whom were several persons of rank and fortune, embarked in this enterprize. The command of it was given to Juan de Grijalva a young man of known merit and courage, with instructions attentively to observe the nature of the countries which he should discover ; to barter for gold ; and, if circumstances were inviting, to settle a colony in some proper station. He sailed from St. Jago de Cuba, on the 8th of April, 1518.

They held the same course as in the former voyage, and at last reached Potonchan, where the last adventurers had been so roughly handled. The desire of avenging their countrymen who had been slain there, concurred with their ideas of good policy, in prompting them to land, that they might chastise the Indians with such exemplary rigour, as would strike terror into all the people round them ; but, though they disembarked all their troops and carried ashore some field pieces, the Indians fought with such courage, that the Spaniards with difficulty gained the victory : and were confirmed in their opinion, that the inhabitants of this country would



prove more formidable enemies than any they had met with in other parts of America.

From Potonchan, they continued their voyage towards the west keeping as near as possible to the shore, and casting anchor every evening, from the dread of the dangerous accidents to which they might be exposed in an unknown sea. During the day their eyes were turned continually towards land, with a mixture of surprise and wonder at the beauty of the country, as well as the novelty of the objects they beheld. Many villages were scattered along the coast, in which they could distinguish houses of stone that appeared white and lofty at a distance. One of the soldiers happening to remark, that this country resembled Spain in its appearance, Grijalva, with universal applause, called it New Spain, the name which still distinguishes this extensive and opulent province of Spanish empire in America.

On the 9th of June, they landed in a river, which the natives called Tabasco, and the fame of their victory at Potonchan having reached this place, the chief not only received them amicably, but bestowed presents upon them of such value, as confirmed the highest ideas, which the Spaniards had formed, with respect to the wealth and fertility of the country. These ideas were raised still higher, by what occurred at the place where they next touched. This was considerably to the west of Tabasco, in the province since known by the name of Guaxaca. There they were received with the respect due to superior beings. The people perfumed them as they landed with gum copal, and presented to them as offerings the choicest delicacies of their country. They were extremely fond of trading with their new visitants, and in six days the Spaniards obtained ornaments of gold, of curious workmanship, to the value of fifteen thousand pesos, in exchange for European toys of small price. The two prisoners, whom Cordayo had brought from Yucatan, had hitherto served as interpreters : but as they were unacquainted with the language of this country, the Spaniards learned from the natives by signs, that they were the subjects of a great monarch, called Montezuma, whose dominions extended over that and many other provinces.

Leaving this province, with which he had so much reason to be contented, Grijalva continued his course towards the west. He landed on a small island, which he named the isle of sacrifices, because there the Spaniards beheld the horrid spectacle of human victims, which the barbarous superstitions of the natives offered to their gods. He touched at another small island, which he called St. Juan de Ulua.

From this place he dispatched Predo de Alverado, one of his officers, to Velasquez, with a full account of the important discoveries he had made, and with all the treasure that he had acquired by trafficking with the natives. After the departure of Alverado, he himself, with the remaining vessels, proceeded along the coast as far as the river Panuco, the country still appearing to be well peopled, fertile and opulent.

It was the opinion of several of Grijalva's officers, that it was not enough to have discovered those delightful regions, or to have performed, at their different landing places, the empty ceremony of taking possession of them for the crown of Castile, and that their glory was incomplete, unless they planted a colony in some proper station which might not only secure the Spanish nation a footing in the country, but with the reinforcements they were certain of receiving, might gradually subject the whole to the dominion of their sovereign. However, the squadron had now been above six months at sea, the greater part of their provisions were exhausted, and what remained of their stores so much corrupted by the heat of the climate, as to be almost unfit for use; they had lost some men by death, and others were sickly; the country was crowded with people, who seemed to be intelligent as well as brave, and they were under the government of one powerful monarch, who could bring them to act against their invaders with united force. To plant a colony under so many corresponding difficulties, appeared a matter too hazardous to be attempted. Though Grijalva was not without ambition and courage, yet he was destitute of the superior abilities requisite to form and execute so extensive a plan. He judged it more prudent to return to Cuba, having fulfilled the purpose of his voyage, and accomplished every thing, which the armament he commanded enabled him to perform. He returned to St. Jago de Cuba, on the 26th of October, from whence he had sailed about six months, without having met with any material accident.

As this was the longest, so it had been the most successful voyage the Spaniards had hitherto made in the New World. They had discovered that Yucatan was not an island as they had supposed, but part of the great continent of America. From Potonchan they had pursued their course for many hundred miles along a coast formerly unexplored, stretching at first along the west and then turning to the north. All the country they discovered appeared to be no less valuable than extensive. As soon as Avarado reached Cuba, Velasquez, transported with success so far beyond his most sanguine expectations, immediately dispatched a person of confidence to carry this important intelligence to Spain; to exhibit the rich productions of the countries which had been discovered by his means; and to solicit such an increase of authority, as might enable and encourage him to attempt the conquest of them. Without waiting for the return of his messenger, or for the arrival of Grijalva, of whom he was become so jealous or distrustful that he resolved no longer to employ him, he began to prepare such a powerful armament, as might prove equal to an enterprise of so much danger and importance. The little and mean jealousies, which the Spaniards seem naturally to entertain of every man of merit, is a very singular blemish in the character of that nation.

The expedition for which Velasquez was now preparing with so much ardour and activity, had in its views conquests far beyond what the Spanish nation had hitherto accomplished. It led them to the knowledge of a people, who, if compared with those tribes of

South America, and the West Indies, with whom they were hitherto acquainted, were infinitely more civilized, and far better acquainted with the arts of war and the sciences in general. Before we proceed to the history of events extremely different from those we have already related, it may not be improper to take a view of the state of the New World, such as it was when first discovered, and to contemplate the politics and manners of the rude uncultivated tribes, by whom the different parts of it were occupied, and with whom the Spaniards at this time had intercourse. This shall be the subject of our next chapter.

#### MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

1505 *War with the American Indians.*

1508 *New discoveries and settlements. Diego Columbus appointed Governor of Hispaniola.*

1510 *Cuba conquered.*

1512 *Florida discovered.*

1513 *The South Sea discovered. Pedrarias appointed Governor of Darien.*

1517 *Balboa executed by the order of the treacherous Pedrarias. Death of Ferdinand, King of Spain : succeeded by Charles V. Tucatan discovered.*

1518 *Campeachy discovered. Grijalva discovers New Spain, Tobasco Guaxaca, and St. Juan de Ulua.*

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#### CHAP. IV.

THE immense extent of the New World is a circumstance that strikes us with wonder. America is remarkable, not only for its magnitude, but for its position. It stretches from the northern polar circle to a high southern latitude, above fifteen hundred miles beyond the furthest extremity of the old continent on that side of the line. Next to its extent, the grandeur of the objects which it presents to our view is most apt to strike the eye of an observer. — Nature seems to have carried on her operations upon a larger scale, with a bolder hand, and to have distinguished the features of this country by a peculiar magnificence. The mountains of America are much superior in height to those in the other divisions of the globe. Even the plain of Quito, which may be considered as the base of the Andes, is elevated farther above the sea, than the top of the Pyrenees. From those lofty mountains descend rivers proportionably large, with which the streams in the ancient continent are not to be compared, either for length of course, or the vast body of water which they roll towards the ocean. Their lakes are no less conspicuous for grandeur than their mountains and rivers. They may be properly termed inland seas of fresh water.



The temperature of the climate of America and the different laws to which it is subject with respect to the distribution of heat and cold, are marks which particularly distinguish it from other parts of the earth. Throughout all these vast regions, there were only two monarchies remarkable for extent of territory, or distinguished by any progress in improvement. The rest of their continent was possessed by small independent tribes, destitute of arts and industry, and neither capable to correct the defects, nor desirous to meliorate the condition of that part of the earth allotted to them for their habitation. Countries occupied by such people, were almost in the same state as if they had been without inhabitants.

Notwithstanding the vast extent of America, and the variety of its climates, the different species of animals peculiar to it are much fewer in proportion, than those of the other hemisphere. In the islands, there are only four kinds of quadrupeds known, the largest of which did not exceed the size of a rabbit. On the continent, the variety was greater; and though the individuals of each kind could not fail of multiplying exceedingly, when almost unmolested by men, who were neither so numerous, nor so united in society, as to be formidable enemies to the animal creation, yet the number of distinct species must be considered as extremely small.

To the causes, which checked the growth and vigor of the more noble animals, may be attributed the propagation and increase of reptiles and insects. The air is often darkened with clouds of insects, and the ground covered with shocking and noxious reptiles.

The American birds of the torrid zone, like those of the same climate in Asia and Africa, are decked in plumage, which dazzles the eye with the beauty of its colours; but nature, satisfied with cloathing them in this gay dress, has denied most of them that melody of sound, and variety of notes, which catch and delight the ear. Let my youthful readers stop here, and pause for a while; through all the conditions and circumstances of life, they will find, on reflection, that the hand of Providence has distributed things more equally than they are aware of, as well in human, as in the feathered race.

In a continent so extensive as America, the nature of the soil must be various. In each of its provinces, we find some distinguishing peculiarity, the description of which belongs to those who write their particular history, and would be an idle attempt to describe in this epitome.

How America was first peopled, by what course mankind migrated from one continent to the other, and in what quarter it is most probable the communication was first opened between them, are matters for which we have little grounds to go upon beyond that of conjecture. The theories and speculations of ingenious men, with respect to this subject, would fill many volumes; but they are often so wild and chimerical, that it would be offering an insult to the understanding of our readers, to attempt either to enumerate or refute them, even provided the limits of this work would admit of it.

To enquire into the character and condition of the American nations, at the time when they became known to the Europeans, deserves more attentive consideration, than the enquiry concerning their original. The discovery of the New World enlarged the sphere of contemplation, and presented nations to our view in a state very rude and uncultivated. The greater part of the inhabitants were strangers to industry and labour, ignorant of arts, imperfectly acquainted with the nature of property, and enjoying almost without restriction or controul the blessings which flowed spontaneously from the bounty of nature. Among the small independent tribes of South America, their customs, manners and institutions, were nearly similar, and so extremely rude, that the denomination of *savages* may be applied to them all. The Spaniards who first visited America, and who had opportunity of beholding its various tribes, while entire and unsubdued, were far from possessing the qualities requisite for observing the striking spectacle presented to their view. Neither the age in which they lived, nor the nation to which they belonged, had made such progress in true science, as inspires enlarged and liberal sentiments. The conquerors of the New World were mostly illiterate adventurers, destitute of all the ideas which should have directed them in contemplating objects, so extremely different from those with which they were acquainted. Surrounded continually with danger, or struggling with hardships, they had little leisure, and less capacity, for any speculative enquiry. Eager to take possession of a country of such extent and opulence, and happy in finding it occupied by inhabitants so incapable to defend it, they hastily pronounced them to be a wretched order of men, formed merely for servitude; and were more employed in computing the profits of their labour, than in enquiring into the operations of their minds, or the reason of their customs and institutions.

The human body is less affected by climate than that of any other animal. Some animals are confined to a particular region of the globe, and cannot exist beyond it; while others though they may be brought to bear the injuries of a foreign climate, cease to multiply when carried from their native air and soil. Even such as seem capable of being naturalized in various climates, feel the effect of every remove from their proper station, and gradually dwindle and degenerate from the vigor and perfection peculiar to their species. Man is the only living creature, whose frame is at once so hardy and so flexible, that he can spread over the whole earth, become the inhabitant of every region, and thrive and multiply under every climate, though not without some attending inconveniences.

The complexion of the Americans is of a reddish brown, nearly resembling the colour of copper. Their persons are of a full size, extremely strait, and well proportioned; but they are more remarkable for agility than strength. As the external form of the Americans leads us to suspect that there is some natural debility in their frame, the smallness of their appetite for food has been mentioned

by many authors as a confirmation of this suspicion. The quantity of food which men consume varies according to the temperature of the climate in which they live, the degree of activity which they exert, and the natural vigor of their constitutions. Under the enervating heat of the torrid zone, and where men pass their days in indolence and ease, they require less nourishment than the active inhabitants of temperate or cold countries.

Notwithstanding the feeble make of the Americans, hardly any of them are deformed, mutilated, or defective in any of their senses. All travellers have been struck with this circumstance, and have celebrated the uniform symmetry and perfection of their external figure.

In the simplicity of the savage state, when man is not oppressed with labour, or enervated by luxury, or disquieted with care, we are apt to imagine that his life will flow on almost untroubled by disease or suffering, until his days be terminated in extreme old age, by the gradual decays of nature. We find, accordingly among the Americans, as well as among other rude people, persons, whose decrepid and shrivelled forms seem to indicate an extraordinary length of life; but as most of them are unacquainted with the art of numbering and all of them as forgetful of what is past, as they are improvident for what is to come, it is impossible to ascertain their age with any degree of precision.

Whatever may be the situation in which man is placed he is born to suffer; and his diseases in the savage state, though fewer in number, are like those of the animals whom he nearly resembles in his mode of life, more violent and more fatal. If luxury engenders and nourishes distempers of one species, the rigour and distress of savage life brings on those of another. As men in this state are wonderfully improvident, and their means of subsistence precarious they often pass from extreme want to exuberant plenty, according to the vicissitudes of fortune in the chase, or in consequence of the various degrees of abundance, with which the earth affords to them its productions in different seasons. Their inconsiderate gluttony in the one situation, and their severe abstinence in the other, are equally pernicious. The strength and vigour of savages are at some seasons, impaired by what they suffer from scarcity of food; at others, they are afflicted with disorders arising from indigestions and a superfluity of gross ailment. These are so common, that they may be considered as the unavoidable consequence of their mode of subsisting, and cut off considerable numbers in the prime of life. There are other disorders, to which they are continually exposed, owing to the inclemency of different seasons. In the savage state hardships and fatigues violently assault the constitution, in polished societies, intemperance undermines it. It is not easy to determine which of them operates with most fatal effects, or tends most to abridge human life.

The thoughts and attention of a savage are confined within the small circle of objects, immediately conducive to his preservation or enjoyment. Every thing beyond that is beneath his observa-



tions, or is entirely indifferent to him. Like a mere animal, what is before his eyes interests and affects him; what is out of sight or at a distance, makes little impression. They follow blindly the impulse of the appetite they feel, but are entirely regardless of distant consequences, and even of those removed in the least degree from immediate apprehension.

The active efforts of their minds are few and languid. The desires of simple nature are very limited, and where a favourable climate yields almost spontaneously what suffices to gratify them, they scarcely stir the soul, or excite any violent emotion. Hence the people of several tribes in America waste their lives in a state of indolence.

To be free from occupation, seems to be all the enjoyment to which they aspire. Such is their aversion to labour, that neither the hope of future good, nor the apprehension of evil, can surmount it. They appear equally indifferent to both, discovering little solicitude, and taking no precaution to avoid the one, or to secure the other. The cravings of hunger may rouse them: but as they devour with little distinction, whatever will appease its instinctive demands, the exertions these occasion are of short duration.

Amongst the rudest tribes in America, regular union between husband and wife was universal, and the rights of marriage were understood recognized. In those districts where subsistence was scanty, and the difficulty of maintaining a family was great, the man confined himself to one wife. In warmer and more fertile provinces, the facility of procuring food concurred with the influence of climate, in inducing the inhabitants to encrease the number of their wives. In some countries, the marriage union subsisted during life, in others, the impatience of the Americans under restraint of any species, together with their natural levity and caprice, prompted them to dissolve it on very slight pretexts, and often without assigning any cause.

The situation of the American women, in whatever light we consider them, was equally humiliating and miserable. Among many people of America the marriage contract is properly a purchase. The man buys his wife of her parents. Though acquainted with the use of money, or with such commercial transactions as take place in more improved society, he knows how to give an equivalent for an object he desires to possess. In some places, the suit-or devotes his services for a certain time to the parent of the maid whom he courts; in others, he hunts for them occasionally, or assists in cultivating their fields, and forming their canoes; in others he offers presents of such things as are deemed most valuable on account of their usefulness or rarity. In return for these, he receives his wife; and this circumstance, added to the low estimation of women among savages, leads him to consider her a female servant whom he has a title to treat as an inferior. The condition of an American woman is so peculiarly grievous, and their depression so complete, that servitude is a name too mild to describe their wretched state. A wife, among most tribes, is no better than a

beast of burden, destined to every office of labour and fatigue.— While the men loiter out the day in sloth, or spend it in amusement, the women are condemned to incessant toil. Tasks are imposed upon them without pity, and services are received without complacency or gratitude.— Every circumstance reminds women of this mortifying inferiority. They must approach their lords with reverence, regard them as more exalted beings, and are not permitted to eat in their presence.

The Americans are not deficient in affection and attachment to their offspring. They feel the power of this instinct in its full force, and as long as their progeny continue feeble and helpless no people exceed them in tenderness and care. In the simplicity of the savage state the affections of parents, like the instinctive fondness of animals, ceases almost entirely as soon as their offspring attain maturity. Little instruction fits them for that mode of life to which they are destined. The parents as if their duty were accomplished, when they have conducted their children through the helpless years of infancy, leave them afterwards at entire liberty. In an American hut, a father, a mother, and their posterity, live together like persons assembled by accident, without seeming to feel the obligation of the duties mutually arising from such connexion.

Though the people of America may be all comprehended under the general denomination of savage, the advances they had made in the art of procuring to themselves a certain and plentiful subsistence were very unequal. On the vast plains of South America, man appears in one of the rudest states in which he possibly can exist, several tribes depending entirely upon the bounty of nature for subsistence. They discover no solicitude, they employ little foresight, and scarcely exert any industry to secure what is necessary for their support. The roots which the earth produces spontaneously, the fruits, the berries and the seeds, which they gather in the woods, together with lizards and other reptiles, which multiply amazingly with the heat of the climate in a fat soil, moistened by frequent rains, supply them with food during some part of the year. At other times they live upon fish; and nature seems to have indulged the laziness of the South American tribes by her liberalities in this way. The vast rivers of that part of America abound with an infinite variety of delicate fish, and are so numerous as to be caught with little trouble. None but tribes contiguous to great rivers can support themselves in this manner. The greater part of the American nations, dispersed over the forests with which their country is covered, do not procure subsistence with the same facility; but are obliged to obtain it by hunting, which in many parts is their principal occupation, and which requires strenuous exertions.

As game and fish are the principal food of the Americans, their agriculture is neither extensive nor laborious. Their principal productions in this line are maize, manioc, plaintain, potatoes, and piemnto. All the fruits of their industry, together with what

their soil and climate produced spontaneously, afforded them but a scanty maintenance. Though their demands for food were very sparing, they hardly raised what was sufficient for their own consumption.

In America, the word nation is not of the same import as in other parts of the globe. It is applied to small societies, perhaps not exceeding two or three hundred persons, but occupying provinces larger than some kingdoms in Europe. In the provinces which border on the Orinoco, one may travel several hundred miles, in different directions, without finding a single hut or observing the footsteps of a human creature.

The Americans had no idea of property. As the animals on which the hunter feeds are not bred under his inspection, nor nourished by his care, he can claim no right to them while they run wild in the forest. The forests, or hunting grounds, are deemed the property of the tribe, from which it has a title to exclude every rival nation; but no individual arrogates a right to any district of these, in preference to his fellow-citizen.

We shall now proceed to take a cursory view of their art of war. Savage nations, in carrying on their public wars, are influenced by the same ideas, and animated with the same spirit, as in prosecuting private vengeance. The maxims by which they regulate their military operations, though extremely different from those, which take place among more civilized and populous nations, are well suited to their own political state, and the nature of the country in which they act. They never take the field in numerous bodies, as it would require a greater effort of foresight and industry, than is usual among savages, to provide for their subsistence, during a march of some hundred miles through dreary forests, or during a long voyage upon their lakes and rivers.

Their armies are not encumbered with baggage or military stores. Each warrior, besides his arms, carries a mat and a small bag of pounded maize, and with these he is completely equipped for any service. While at a distance from the enemies' frontier, they disperse through the woods, and support themselves with the game they kill, and the fish they catch. The manner in which they attack their enemies, the treatment of their prisoners, and the surprising fortitude they shew in bearing the most cruel tortures, being nearly the same among the South American Indians as among the North we shall not here mention what will be found on that head in our History of North America.

In the warmer and more mild climates of America, none of the rude tribes were clothed. To most of them Nature had not even suggested any idea of impropriety of being altogether uncovered. As under a mild climate there was little need of any defence from the injuries of the air, and their extreme indolence shunned every species of labour to which it was not urged by absolute necessity, all the inhabitants of the isles, and a considerable part of the people on the continent, remained in this state of naked simplicity. Others were satisfied with some slight covering, such as dacency



required ; but though naked, they were not unadorned. They fastened bits of gold or shells, or shining stones, to their ears, their noses, and cheeks. They stained their skins with a great variety of figures, and they spent much time, and submitted to great pain, in ornamenting their persons in this fantastic manner.

In one part of their dress, which, at first sight appears the most singular and capricious, the Americans have discovered considerable sagacity in providing against the chief inconveniences of their climate, which is often sultry, and moist to excess. All the different tribes, which remain unclothed, are accustomed to anoint and rub their bodies with the grease of animals, with viscous gums, and with oils of different kinds. By this they check that profuse perspiration, which in the torrid zone, wastes the vigour of the frame, and abridges the period of human life. By this too they provide a defence against the extreme moisture during the rainy season. They likewise, at certain seasons, temper paint of different colours with those unctious substances, and bedaub themselves plentifully with that composition.

Sheathed with this impenetrable varnish their skins are not only protected from the heat of the sun, but as all the innumerable tribes of insects have an antipathy to the smell or taste of that mixture, they are delivered from their teasing persecution, which amidst forests and marshes, especially in the warmer regions, would have been wholly insupportable in a state of perfect nakedness.

Savage nations, being far from that state of improvement, in which the mode of living is considered as a mark of distinction, and unacquainted with those wants, which require a variety of accommodations, regulate the construction of their houses according to their limited ideas of necessity. Some of the American tribes were so extremely rude and had advanced so little beyond the primeval simplicity of nature, that they had no houses at all. During the day, they took shelter from the scorching rays of the sun under thick trees, and at night they formed a shed with their branches and leaves. In the rainy seasons they retired into caves, formed by the hand of nature or hollowed out by their own industry. Others, who had no fixed abode, and roamed through the forest in quest of game, sojourned in temporary huts, which they erected with little labour, and abandoned without any concern.

Clubs made of heavy wood, stakes hardened in the fire, lances whose heads were armed with flint or the bone of some animal are weapons known to the rudest nations. All these, however, were of use only in close encounter ; but men wished to annoy their enemies while at a distance, and the bow and arrow is the most early invention for this purpose. The people in some provinces of Chili, and those of Patagonia, towards the southern extremity of America, use a weapon peculiar to themselves. They fasten stones about the size of a man's fist to each end of a leather thong of eight feet in length, and swinging these round their heads, throw them with such dexterity that they seldom miss the object they aim at.

As their food and habitations are perfectly simple, their domestic utensils are few and rude. Some of the southern tribes discovered the art of forming vessels of earthen ware, and baking them in the sun so as they could endure the fire. These vessels they used in preparing part of their provisions, and this may be considered as a step towards refinement and luxury; for men in their rudest state were not acquainted with any method of dressing their victuals, but by roasting them on the fire, and among several tribes in America, this is the only species of cookery yet known.

What appears to be the master piece of art among the savages of America is the construction of their canoes. An Indian, shut up in his boat of whalebone covered with skins, can brave that stormy ocean, on which he is compelled to depend for part of his subsistence. The inhabitants of the isles in South America, form their canoes by hollowing the trunk of a large tree, with infinite labour, and though in appearance they are extremely awkward and unwieldy, they paddle and steer them with such dexterity, that Europeans, well acquainted with all the improvements in the science of navigation, have been astonished at the rapidity of their motion, and the quickness of their evolutions.

With respect to their religion, even among those tribes, whose religious system was more enlarged, and who had formed some conception of benevolent beings, which delighted in conferring benefits, as well as of malicious powers prone to inflict evil, superstition still appears as the offspring of fear, and all its efforts were employed to avert calamities. They were persuaded that their good deities, prompted by the beneficence of their nature, would bestow every blessing in their power, without solicitation or acknowledgment; and their only anxiety was to sooth and deprecate the wrath of the powers, whom they regarded as the enemies of mankind.

With respect to the immortality of the soul the sentiments of the Americans were more united. The human mind, even when least improved and invigorated by culture, shrinks from the thoughts of dissolution, and looks forward with hope and expectation to a state of future existence. The most uncivilized savages of America do not apprehend death as the extinction of being: all entertain hopes of a future and more happy state, where they shall be forever exempt from the calamities, which embitter human life in its present condition. This future state they conceive to be a delightful country blest with perpetual spring, whose forests abound with game, whose rivers swarm with fish, where famine is never felt, and uninterrupted plenty shall be enjoyed without labour or toil.

As the diseases of men in the savage stage are like those of the animal creation, few but extremely violent, their impatience under what they suffer, and solicitude for the recovery of health, soon inspired them with extraordinary reverence for such as pretended to understand the nature of their maladies, or to preserve them from their sudden and fatal effects. However these ignorant pretenders being such utter strangers to the structure of the human

frame, as to know neither the causes of disorders, nor the manner in which they were likely to terminate, superstition, frequently mingled with some portion of craft, supplied what they wanted in knowledge. They imputed the origin of diseases to supernatural influence, and advised or performed a variety of superstitious rites which they represented to be sufficient to remove the most obstinate and dangerous disorders.

From the superstition and credulity of the Americans likewise proceeded their faith in dreams, their observation of omens, their attention to the chirping of birds, and the cries of animals, all which they supposed to be indications of future events; and if any one of the prognostics was deemed unfavourable, they eagerly abandoned the object they had in pursuit.

Savage as the Americans were, they were not without their amusements; and of these dancing appears to be the principal. The war dance seems to be the most striking, in which are represented all the manœuvres of an American campaign. Their songs and dances are mostly solemn and martial, they are connected with some of the most serious and important affairs of life, and, having no relation to love or gallantry, are seldom common to the two sexes, but executed by the men and women apart.

The Americans are universally fond of gaming. Though they are at other times so indifferent, phlegmatic, silent, and animated with so few desires, as soon as they engage in play, they become rapacious, impatient, noisy, and almost frantic with eagerness. Their furs, their domestic utensils, their clothes, their arms, are staked at play and when all is lost, high as their sense of independence is, in a wild emotion of hope or despair, they will often risk their personal liberty upon a single bet. Among several tribes, such gaming parties are frequently made, and become their most agreeable entertainment at every great festival.

The same causes that contribute to render them fond of play, is the cause of drunkenness among them. It seems to have been one of the first exertions of human ingenuity to discover some composition of an intoxicating quality; and there is hardly any nation so rude, or so destitute of invention, as not to have succeeded in this fatal research. The most barbarous of the American tribes have been so unfortunate as to attain this art; and even those which are so deficient in knowledge as not to be acquainted with the method of giving an inebriating strength to liquors by fermentation, can accomplish the same by some other means.

It is customary with the American Indians, when their parents and other relations become old, or labour under any distemper which they have not art enough to cure, to put an end to their lives, in order to be relieved from the burden of tending and supporting them. The same hardships and difficulty of procuring subsistence, which prevent savages, in some cases, from rearing their children, prompt them to destroy the aged and infirm. The declining state of the one is as helpless as the infancy of the other; and the American thinks he does nothing more than his duty, in



easing his father or friend of a burthensome life of pain and disease.

A hardness of heart and insensibility of feeling are remarkable in all savage nations. Their minds, roused only by strong emotions, are little susceptible of gentle, delicate, or tender affections. When any favour is done him, he neither feels gratitude, nor thinks of making any return. The high idea of independence among the Americans nourishes a sullen reserve, which keeps them at a distance from each other.

A savage, frequently placed in situations of danger or distress, depending on no one but himself, and wrapped up in his own thoughts and schemes, is a serious and melancholy animal. The American, when not engaged in action, often sits whole days in one posture, without opening his lips. When they engage in war or the chase, they usually march in a line at some distance from each other, and do not exchange a single word. Even in their canoes, the same profound silence is observed; and nothing but intoxicating liquors or jollity attending their dances, can at any rate render them in the least conversable.

We may attribute the refined cunning, with which they form and execute their schemes, to the same causes. With the American Indians, war is a system of craft, in which they trust for success to stratagem more than to open force, and have their invention continually at work to circumvent and surprise their enemies. The people of the rude tribes of America are remarkable for their artifice and duplicity. The natives of Peru were employed above thirty years, in forming the plan of an insurrection, which took place under the viceroyalty of the Marquis de Villa Garcia; and though a great number of people of different ranks, were let into the secret, yet not a syllable of it transpired during all that period, no men betrayed his trust, or by an unguarded look, or imprudent word, gave rise to any suspicion of what was meditating.

However, let us not suppose that the Americans were without their virtues, among which fortitude and courage were remarkably conspicuous. Accustomed as the Indians are to continual alarms, they grow familiar with danger; courage becomes an habitual virtue, resulting naturally from their situation, and strengthened by constant exertions. They are naturally attached to the community of which they are members. From the nature of their political union, we should be led to suppose this tie to be very feeble; but each individual freely and cheerfully undertakes the most perilous service, when the community deems it necessary. They have a fierce and deep rooted antipathy to the enemies of their country, and that zeal for the honour of their tribe, which prompts them to brave danger in the pursuit of triumph, and to endure the most exquisite torments, without a groan, that it may not be dishonoured. Far from complaining of their own situation, or viewing that of men in a more improved state with admiration or envy, they regard themselves as the standard of excellence, as being the best entitled, as well as the most perfectly qualified, to enjoy real happiness.

## CHAP. V.

**AMBITION** and avarice united to induce Velasquez to prepare for the conquest of New Spain, so that when Grijalva returned to Cuba, he found the armament destined to attempt the conquest of that rich country he had discovered, almost complete and ready to sail. Velasquez knew not whom to entrust with the command of this important expedition. Though he was of a most aspiring ambition, and not destitute of talents for government, he possessed neither such courage, nor such vigour and activity of mind, as to undertake in person the conduct of the armament he was preparing. He meanly wished to find some person who had bravery and abilities equal to the undertaking, but would attribute all the honour and glory to him. After some time searching for such a person and finding that no man of abilities would submit to such disgraceful terms, he at last appointed Fernando Cortes to the command. Cortes was a man of noble blood, but whose family was of moderate fortune: he was a good soldier, and every way qualified for such an undertaking.

Though the governor had laid out considerable sums, and each adventurer had exhausted his stock, or strained his credit, the poverty of the preparation was such, as must astonish the present age, and bore no resemblance to an armament destined for the conquest of a great empire. The fleet consisted of eleven vessels the largest of one hundred tons, which was dignified with the name of Admiral; three of seventy or eighty tons and the rest small open barks. On board of these were 617 men; of which 508 belonged to the land service, and 109 were seamen or artificers. As the use of fire-arms among the nations of Europe had hitherto confined to a few battallions of regular disciplined infantry, only thirteen soldiers were armed with muskets; thirty-two were cross-bow men, the rest had swords and spears. They had only sixteen horses and ten small field-pieces.

On the 10th of February, 1519, Cortes sailed with his small armament to attack a most powerful monarch. He touched first at Cozumal, then at Tabasco, and on the 2d of April arrived at St. Juande Ulua in Mexico. As soon as they entered the harbour, a boat came off to them, to know what was the intention of their visit, and to offer them their assistance if needful. Cortes assured them, in respectful terms, which he did by means of an interpreter, that he approached their country with most friendly sentiments, and came to propose matters of great importance to the welfare of their prince and his kingdom, which he would unfold more fully, in person to the governor and the general. Next morning, without waiting for any answer, he landed his troops, his horses, and artillery; and having chosen proper ground, began to erect huts for his men, and fortify his camp.

The Mexicans treated the Spaniards with the greatest civility, but wished to divert them from their intention of visiting the capital.

where the emperor Montezuma resided. For this purpose, they commenced a negotiation, by introducing a train of a hundred Indians, loaded with presents, sent from Montezuma to Cortes. The magnificence of these were such as became a great monarch, and far exceeded any idea the Spaniards had hitherto formed of his wealth. They were placed upon mats spread on the ground in such order as shewed them to the greatest advantage. Cortes and his officers viewed with admiration the various manufactures of the country; cotton stuffs so fine, and of so delicate texture, as to resemble silks; pictures of animals, trees and other natural objects, formed with feathers of different colours, disposed and mingled with such skill and elegance, as to rival the works of the pencil in truth and beauty of imitation; but what more particularly attracted the attention of the Spaniards, was the amazing quantity of unwrought gold and silver, and the profusion of pearls and precious stones, the produce of the country.

These rich presents, instead of inducing the Spaniards to quit Mexico, made them the more resolute to make a conquest of it. Cortes insisted on visiting the king in his capital, and declared he would not leave the island till that was granted. Of all the princes who had swayed the Mexican sceptre, Montezuma was the most haughty, violent, and impatient of controul. His subjects viewed him with awe, and his enemies with terror. The former he governed with unrelenting rigour, and the latter he reduced to awe by the power of his arms. However though his power and tyranny kept his subjects and neighbours in awe, yet he wanted those qualities of mind, which were necessary to intimidate and subdue his new visitors.

Montezuma from the moment the Spaniards appeared on the coast, discovered symptoms of timidity and embarrassment. Instead of taking such resolutions as his power enabled him, he deliberated with an anxiety and hesitation that did not escape the notice of the meanest of his courtiers. He spent his time in fruitless negotiations with the Spaniards, and thereby raised their courage and consequence.

In the mean time, Cortes was watching the opportunity to throw off all connexions with Velasquez, whose natural jealousy had induced him to endeavour to deprive Cortes of the command of the expedition before he sailed. He got the confidence of the officers and soldiers, and, having assembled a council, he resigned the commission he had received from Velasquez, and was immediately chosen chief-justice and captain general of the new colony.

Cortes owed much of his success to the Mexican gold, which he distributed with a liberal hand among both friends and opponents, and thereby brought all to be of one mind. Having thus settled every thing to the satisfaction of his army, by engaging it to join him in disclaiming any dependence on the governor of Cuba, he thought he might now venture to quit the camp, in which he had hitherto remained, and advance into the country. To this he was encouraged by an event no less fortunate than seasonable. He re-



ceived a proffer of friendship from the cazique of Zimpoalla, a considerable town at no great distance. He found by their message that they were filled with such dread and hatred of Montezuma, that nothing could be more acceptable to them, than a prospect of deliverance from the oppressions under which they groaned. Cortes was highly delighted to find, that the great empire he intended to attack was not united, nor its sovereign beloved.

Some officers, whom Cortes had employed to survey the coast having discovered a village about forty miles to the northward, which, as well on account of the fertility of the soil, as commodiousness of the harbour, seemed to be a more proper station for a settlement than that where he was encamped, he determined to remove thither; Zimpoalla lay in his way, where the cazique welcomed him in the manner he had reason to expect. He received Cortes with respect, almost approaching to adoration, and like one to whom he looked up as a deliverer. From the cazique he learned many particulars with respect to the character of Montezuma, whom he represented as a tyrant, cruel and suspicious. Cortes assured the cazique, that one great object of the Spaniards in visiting a country so remote from their own, was to redress grievances, and to relieve the oppressed.

Having taken his leave of the cazique, he continued his march to Quiabislan. The spot his officers had chosen as a proper situation, appeared so well to meet his approbation, that he immediately marked out ground for a town. The houses to be erected were only huts; but these were to be surrounded with fortifications, of sufficient strength to resist the assaults of an Indian army. Every one, even Cortes not excepted, gave an helping hand to the erecting of fortifications, so essential to the preservation of every individual of the colony. His next care was to form an alliance with the neighbouring kings, whom he taught to despise their emperor, by gradually inspiring them with an high opinion of the Spaniards, as beings of a superior order, and irresistible in arms.

Cortes perceiving that some of his men grew tired of their present pursuits, and had even formed the plan of making their escape to Cuba in one of the ships, saw no hopes of success, but in cutting off all possibility of retreat, and reducing his men to the necessity of adopting the same resolutions with which he himself was animated, either to conquer or perish. With this view he determined to destroy his fleet and his address in persuading his followers to adopt his ideas, was not inferior to the boldness of the undertaking. With universal consent the ships were drawn ashore, and after stripping them of their sails, rigging, iron work, and whatever else might be of use, they were broken in pieces. Thus from an effort of magnanimity, to which there is nothing parallel in history, five hundred men voluntarily consented to be shut up in a hostile country, filled with powerful and unknown nations; and having precluded every means of escape left themselves without any resource but what their own perseverance and valour could procure them, and on which every thing now depended.

On the 16th of August, 1519, Cortes began his march from Zimpoalia, with five hundred men, fifteen horse and six field pieces. The remainder of his troops, consisting chiefly of such as from age or infirmity were less fit for active service, he left as a garrison in Villa Rica, under the command of Escalante, an officer of merit, and warmly attached to the interest of Cortes.

The first war he engaged in was with the Hascalens, who advanced against him with numerous armies, and attacked him in various forms, with a degree of valour and perseverance to which the Spaniards had seen nothing equal in the new world. The Hascalens, however, were at last glad to sue for peace, seeing their own people so dreadfully destroyed, while the Spaniards remained unhurt. "If (said they to the Spaniards) you are divinities of a cruel and savage nature, we present to you five slaves that you may drink their blood and eat their flesh. If you are mild deities, accept an offer of incense and variegated plumes. If you are men, here is meat, and bread and fruit to nourish you." As both parties were equally desirous of peace, matters were soon settled between them. The Hascalens acknowledged themselves as dependent on the crown of Castile; when Cortes took the republic under his protection, and promised to secure them against every attempt of injury on their persons or property.

On the 13th of October, Cortes set out on his march for Mexico accompanied by six thousand Hascalens, so that he now appeared at the head of something like a regular army. As the Spaniards descended from the mountains of Chalco, over which the road lay, the vast plains of Mexico gradually unfolded itself to their view. This prospect afforded one of the most striking and beautiful views on the face of the earth; when they beheld fertile and cultivated fields, stretching beyond the reach of the human eye; when they saw a lake resembling the sea in extent, encompassed with large towns, and beheld the capital city rising upon an island in the centre, adorned with its temples and turrets; the prospect so far surpassed their most sanguine expectations, that some believed the fancied descriptions of romance were realized, and that its enchanted palaces and gilded domes were presented to their sight; others could hardly persuade themselves, that this wonderful sight was any thing more than a dream. As they proceeded their doubts were removed, but their amazement increased.

Cortes was almost at the gates of the capital before Montezuma had determined whether he should receive him as a friend, or oppose him as an enemy. On their arrival near the city, about a thousand persons, who bore marks of distinction, came out to meet them, dressed in mantles of fine cotton, and adorned with plumes. Each of these separately passed Cortes, and paid the most submissive obedience to him according to the mode of their country. They announced the approach of Montezuma himself, and his harbingers soon after came in sight. Two hundred persons in an uniform dress first appeared, ornamented with feathers, proceeding two and two, barefooted, and in profound silence, with their eyes



fixed to their ground. A company of higher rank next followed, in their most sumptuous ornaments; in the midst of whom was Montezuma, in a litter richly ornamented with gold, and feathers of various colours. He was carried on the shoulders of four of his principal favourites, while others supported a canopy of curious workmanship over his head. Before him marched three officers with rods of gold in their hands, which they lifted up on high at certain intervals, when all the people immediately bowed their heads and hid their faces, as unworthy to look on so great a monarch. As soon as he approached Cortes dismounted, advanced towards him with officious haste, and in a respectful posture. Montezuma immediately alighted from his chair, and leaning on the arms of two of his near relations, approached with a slow and stately step, his attendants covering the streets with cotton cloth, that he might not touch the ground. Cortes accosted him with profound reverence, after the European fashion; and Montezuma returned the salutation according to the mode of his country, by touching the earth with his hand, and then kissing it. Montezuma conducted Cortes to the quarters he had prepared for his reception, and immediately took leave of him with a politeness not unworthy of a court more refined. Nothing material passed at this first interview.

In the evening, Montezuma returned to visit his guests with the same pomp as in their first interview. He told Cortes, that from what he had heard and seen of him and his followers, he was convinced that they were the very persons, whose appearance the Mexican traditions and prophecies taught them to expect, in order to reform their constitution and laws; that he had accordingly received them not as strangers, but as relations of the same blood and parentage, and desired that they might consider themselves as masters in his dominions, for both himself and his subjects should be ready to comply with their will, and even to prevent their wishes. The three subsequent days were employed in viewing the city; the appearance of which, so far superior in the order of its buildings, and the number of its inhabitants, to any place the Spaniards had beheld in America, filled them with wonder and surprise.

Though the novelty of these objects amused the Spaniards, yet they were not without their alarms on account of their safety. The allies of the Spaniards assured Cortes, that the Mexican priests had, in the name of the gods, counselled their sovereign to admit the Spaniards into the capital, that he might cut them off there at one blow with perfect security.

Cortes very plainly perceived that his destruction was intended; it was therefore necessary to extricate himself out of the difficulties, in which one bold step had involved him, by venturing upon another still bolder. The situation was trying but his mind was equal to it; and, after revolving the matter with deep attention, he fixed upon a plan no less extraordinary than daring. He determined to seize Montezuma in his palace and carry him as a



prisoner to the Spanish quarters. The plan being properly settled between Cortes and his officers, this powerful monarch was seized by a few strangers in the midst of his capital, at noon day, and carried off as a prisoner, without opposition or bloodshed. History contains nothing parallel to this event, either with respect to the temerity of the attempt, or the success of the execution, and were not all the circumstances of this extraordinary transaction authenticated by the most unquestionable evidence, they would appear so wild and extravagant as to go far beyond the bounds of reason and probability.

On the 4th of December, 1519, Qualecopoca, the son of Montezuma, and five of the principal officers who served under him, were brought prisoners to the citadel, formally tried by a Spanish court-martial, and, though they had acted no other part than what became loyal subjects and brave men, they were condemned to be burnt alive, which was immediately put in execution. The rigour with which Cortes punished the unhappy persons, who first presumed to lay violent hands upon his followers, seems to have made all the impressions he desired. The spirit of Montezuma was not only overawed, but subdued. During six months that Cortes remained in Mexico, the monarch continued in the Spanish quarters, with an appearance of an entire satisfaction, and tranquillity, as if he had resided there, not from constraint, but through choice. His ministers and officers attended him as usual, he took cognizance of all affairs, and every order was issued in his name. The external aspect of government appearing the same, and all its ancient forms being scrupulously observed, the people were so little sensible of any change, that they obeyed the mandates of their monarch with the same submissive reverence as ever. Thus, by the fortunate temerity of Cortes in seizing Montezuma, the Spaniards at once secured to themselves more extensive authority in the Mexican empire, than it was possible to have acquired in a long course of time by open force; and they exercised more absolute sway in the name of another, than they could have done in their own.

Cortes, encouraged by so many instances of the monarch's tame submission to his will, ventured to put it to a proof still more trying. He urged Montezuma to acknowledge himself a vassal of the king of Castile, to hold his crown of him as superior, and to subject his dominions to the payment of an annual tribute. With this requisition, the last and most humbling that can be made to one possessed of sovereign authority, Montezuma was so obsequious as to comply. The act of submission and homage was executed with all the formalities the Spaniards were pleased to dictate.

The next attempt Cortes made was to alter their religion; which had such an effect upon the Mexicans, that they determined to destroy the Spaniards if they persisted in it; and even Montezuma himself had expressed his wish to Cortes, that he would think of returning home.

While things continued in this critical situation, Cortes, anxious about what was past, uncertain with respect to the future, and much oppressed by the late declaration of the Mexicans, he received an account of some ships having appeared on the coast. He idly imagined that his messengers were returned from Spain, and that the completion of all his hopes and wishes were at hand. However a courier soon brought certain information, that the armament was fitted out by Velasquez, governor of Cuba, and instead of bringing the aid they expected, threatened them with immediate destruction. This armament was commanded by Pamphilo de Narvaez.

Cortes was now greatly alarmed, as Narvaez seemed determined to ruin him, having received orders from Velasquez to seize him and send him to Cuba in irons. Cortes at first attempted to treat with his enemies; but finding that impossible, he marched against them with an army infinitely inferior to their's, and rushing upon them, in the night, obtained a complete victory. Narvaez was wounded, taken prisoner, and put in irons.

This victory proved the more acceptable, as it was gained with little bloodshed, only two soldiers being killed on the side of Cortes, and two officers, with fifteen private men, of the adverse faction. Cortes treated the vanquished not like enemies, but as countrymen and friends, and offered to send them back immediately to Cuba, or to take them into his service, as partners in his fortune, on equal terms with his own soldiers. The greater part of them accepted the offer, and vied with each other in professions of fidelity and attachment to a general, whose recent successes had given them such a striking proof of his abilities. Thus, by a series of events no less fortunate than uncommon, Cortes not only escaped from the destruction that seemed inevitable, but, when he had least reason to expect it, was placed at the head of a thousand resolute Spaniards.

While Cortes was engaged in this business, the Mexicans seized the opportunity of his absence to take up arms, to which they had been more particularly urged by the cruelty and treachery of Alvarado, whom Cortes had left in the city, in order to take care of the royal prisoner and keep the natives in awe.

On the 24th of June, 1520, Cortes marched back to the city and took quiet possession of his ancient station. However, being too much elated with his success, he neglected to visit Montezuma, and embittered the insult by expressions full of contempt for that unfortunate prince and his people. This being rumoured about, they flew to arms in every quarter, and attacked the Spaniards in their fortifications. Though the artillery pointed at their numerous battalions, crowded together in narrow streets, swept off multitudes at every discharge, though every blow of the Spanish weapons fell with mortal effects upon their naked bodies, the violence of the assault by no means abated. Fresh men rushed forward to occupy the places of the slain, and meeting with the same fate, were succeeded by others no less intrepid and eager for ven-

geance. The utmost efforts and abilities of Cortes, seconded by the disciplined valour of his troops, were hardly sufficient to defend the fortifications of the Spaniards, into which the Mexicans had nearly forced their way.

Cortes was now willing to try what effect the sight of the emperor would have upon his subjects. He was accordingly brought on the ramparts, from whence he addressed the Mexicans, exhorting them to peaceable measures, which so enraged them, that he was soon wounded by two arrows, and the blow of a stone on his temples brought him to the ground. The Spaniards carried him to his apartments; but he was so broken and dejected by the severity of his fate, that he tore off the bandage from his wounds, and soon expired.

Soon after the death of Montezuma, Cortes found it absolutely necessary to abandon the city. He attempted his retreat by night, but the Mexicans, who had watched all his motions, fell upon him in his march and destroyed nearly one half of his army. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, were lost, and only a very small portion of the treasure they had amassed was saved. Many of the soldiers, having so overloaded themselves with bars of gold as rendered them unfit for action, and retarded their flight, fell ignominiously the victims of their own inconsiderate avarice.

Cortes directed his march towards a rising ground at some little distance, and having fortunately discovered a temple situated on an eminence, he took possession of it. He there found not only the shelter for which he wished, but, what was no less wanted, some provisions to refresh his men. On leaving this place they marched for six days with little respite, and under continual alarms, numerous bodies of the Mexicans hovering around them, and harassing them in front, rear, and flank, with great boldness. As the barren country through which they passed, afforded hardly any provisions, they were reduced to feed on berries, roots, and the stalks of green maize; and at the very time that famine was depressing their spirits and wasting their strength, their situation required the most vigorous and unremitting exertions of courage and activity. Amidst these complicated distresses, one circumstance supported and animated the Spaniards. Their commander sustained this sad reverse of fortune with unshaken magnanimity. His presence of mind never forsook him, his sagacity foresaw every event, and his vigilance provided for it. He was foremost in every danger, and endured every hardship with cheerfulness. His soldiers, though despairing themselves, continued to follow him without reluctance.

On the sixth day of their march, they reached the summit of an eminence, when a spacious valley opened to their view, covered with a vast army, extending as far as the eye could reach. The Mexicans, while with one body of their troops they harassed the Spaniards in their retreat, had assembled their principal force on the other side of the lake, and posted it in the plain of Otumba, through which they knew Cortes must pass. At the sight of this



incredible multitude, which they could survey at once from the rising ground, the Spaniards were astonished, and even the boldest began to despair. Cortes, however, without allowing leisure for their fears to acquire strength by reflection, after reminding them, that nothing remained but to die or conquer, led them immediately to the charge. The Mexicans with unusual fortitude waited their approach; but such was the superiority of the Spanish arms and discipline, that the impression of this small body was irresistible, and which ever way its force was directed, it penetrated and dispersed the most numerous battalions. However while these gave way in one quarter, a fresh supply of enemies advanced from another, and the Spaniards, though successful in every attack, were ready to sink under these repeated efforts, without seeing any end of their toil, or any hope of victory.

Cortes now observed, that the great standard of the empire, which was carried before the Mexican general was advancing. He fortunately recollected to have heard, that on the fate of it depended the event of every battle. He therefore assembled a few of his bravest officers, whose horses were still capable of service, and placing himself at their head, pushed forward towards the standard, with an impetuosity that bore down every thing before it. A chosen body of nobles, who guarded the standard, made some resistance, but were soon vanquished. Cortes, with a stroke of his lance, wounded the Mexican general, and threw him to the ground. One of the Spanish officers alighting, finished his life, and seized the imperial standard. The instant their leader fell, and their standard, to which all directed their eyes, was no longer to be seen, an universal panic struck the Mexicans, every ensign was lowered, each soldier threw away his weapons, and every one made the best of his way to the mountains. The Spaniards, who were not in a condition to pursue them, contented themselves with collecting the spoils of the field, which were so valuable, as to be some compensation for the wealth they had lost in the city of Mexico.

After this victory, Cortes dispatched an officer of confidence with four ships of Narváez's to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to engage adventurers, and to purchase horses, gunpowder, and other military stores. As he knew it would be in vain to attempt the reduction of Mexico, unless he could secure the command of the lake he found means to procure materials for building twelve brigantines, so that they might be carried thither in pieces, ready to be put together, and launched, whenever he should want them.

While he was harrassed and perplexed with the mutinous disposition of his troops, two ships arrived, with a supply of men and military stores, sent by the governor of Cuba, not to assist Cortes but with a view of his ruin. His address, however, brought them over to his views. He now found his army reinforced with 180 Spaniards, and twenty horses.

Soon after this four ships arrived at Vera Cruz from Hispaniola, with two hundred soldiers, eighty horses, and two battering cannon, and a considerable supply of ammunition and arms.

On the 28th of April, 1521, all the Spanish troops, together with the auxiliary Indians, were drawn up on the banks of the Canal ; and with extraordinary military pomp, heightened and rendered more solemn by the celebration of the most sacred rites of religion the brigantines were launched. Cortes now determined on making an attack on the city of Mexico.—The brigantines no sooner appeared before the city, than the lake was covered with innumerable canoes, which made but a feeble resistance against these vessels manned by Europeans. The brigantines, with the utmost ease, broke through their feeble opponents, upset many canoes, and dissipated the whole armament with such slaughter, as convinced the Mexicans, that it was not in their power to contend with the Spaniards on the watery element.

Cortes now determined to attack the city, and for this purpose he made all the wise preparations an able general could do ; but, owing to his orders not being properly observed, he was at last repulsed, received some dangerous wounds and would have been taken by the Mexicans, had not some Spanish officers rescued him at the expense of their lives. Forty Spaniards fell alive into the hands of the Mexicans, who sacrificed those unhappy victims, in the most cruel manner, to their god of war.

However unpromising an aspect matters were at present, Cortes had a mind that rose above all difficulties. He soon found himself enabled to renew the attack on the city of Mexico, in which he proved so fortunate, that he took the emperor Guatimozin prisoner, who seemed worthy of a better fate. When the emperor was conducted to Cortes, he appeared neither with the sullen fierceness of a barbarian, nor with the dejection of a suppliant. "I have done (said he, addressing himself to the Spanish general) what became a monarch. I have defended my people to the last extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger, (laying his hand on one which Cortes wore) plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life, which can no longer be of use."

As soon as the fate of this unfortunate sovereign was known, the Mexicans ceased all resistance, and Cortes took possession of that small part of the capital, which had not been destroyed during the siege. Thus terminated the siege of Mexico, the most memorable event in the conquest of America. It lasted twenty-five days, of which hardly one passed without some singular effort on the part of the besiegers or the besieged. The great abilities of Guatimozin, the number of his troops, the peculiar situation of his capital, so far counterbalanced the superiority of the Spaniards in arms and discipline, that they must have relinquished the enterprise, had they trusted for success to themselves alone ; but Mexico was overturned by its own tyranny, and the jealousy of its neighbours.

The Spaniards were no sooner masters of the city, than they set about seeking for the profuse riches they expected it would produce ; but they were herein sadly disappointed. The soldiers could collect only an inconsiderable booty amidst ruins and desola-



tion, and this disappointment excited them almost to an open rebellion against Cortes. Arguments, entreaties, and promises, were employed in order to soothe them ; but with so little effect, that Cortes, with a view to check this growing spirit of discontent gave way to a deed, which stains the glory of all his great actions. The unhappy monarch together with his chief favorite, were given up to be tortured, in order to force from them a discovery of the royal treasures, which it was supposed they had concealed.— Guatimozin bore whatever the refined cruelty of his tormentors could inflict with the invincible fortitude of an American warrior. His fellow sufferer, sinking under the violence of his anguish turned his sorrowful eyes towards his master, which seemed to implore his permission to reveal all he knew ; but the high spirited prince, darting on him a look of authority, mingled with scorn, checked him by asking, “ Am I now reposing on a bed of flowers ? ” His favorite felt the reproach, persevered in his dutiful silence, and expired. Cortes was so much ashamed of this horrid scene, that he rescued the royal victim from the hands of his torturers, and thereby prolonged a life devoted to future miseries.

The fate of the capital, as both parties had conjectured, decided that of the empire, and the provinces submitted, one after another, to the conquerors. Cortes, being now more at leisure, began to form schemes of discovery, and to complete the original plan of Columbus, by finding a passage to the East-Indies by that quarter of the world they were in ; but he did not then know that this scheme had been undertaken and accomplished.

Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese gentleman, on the 10th of August, 1519, sailed from Seville with five ships, and, after touching at the Canaries, stood directly South along the coast of America, and on the 12th of January, 1520, reached the river De la Plata. From hence he continued his course, after having conquered the mutinous disposition of his crew, and at length discovered, near the fifty-third degree of latitude, the mouth of a strait, into which he entered, in spite of the murmurs and remonstrances of the people under his command. After sailing twenty days in that winding dangerous channel, to which he gave his own name, and where one of his ships deserted him, the great Southern Ocean opened to his view, when he shed tears of joy and gratitude for that happy discovery.

After enduring inexpressible hardships, from the want of provisions and other necessaries, on the 6th of March, 1521, they fell in with a cluster of small but fertile islands, which afforded them refreshments in such abundance, that their health was soon re-established. This extensive sea Magellan called the *Pacific Ocean* which name it still bears. He afterwards discovered the Philippine islands, and was there killed by the barbarous natives.

John Sebastian del Cano prosecuted the expedition after the death of Magellan. After visiting many of the smaller islands, scattered in the eastern part of the Indian Ocean, they touched at the great island of Borneo, and at length landed in Tidore, one of



the Moluccas. He followed the course of the Portuguese by the Cape of Good Hope, and, after many disasters and sufferings, he arrived at St. Lucar on the 7th of September, 1522, having sailed round the globe in the space of three years and twenty-eight days.

But let us turn to the transactions in New Spain. At the time that Cortes was acquiring such vast territories for his native country, and preparing the way for future conquests, it was his singular fate not only to be destitute of any commission or authority from the sovereign, whom he was serving with such successful zeal, but to be regarded as an undutiful and seditious subject. The court of Spain sent a person to supercede him, to seize his person, and confiscate his effects; but Cortes triumphed over all his enemies, and was appointed Captain-General and Governor of New-Spain.

The jealousies and ingratitude of the court of Spain threw so many obstacles in the way of Cortes, that his government became very uneasy to him, and the court went so far as to send persons to enquire into his conduct, and to bring him to justice, should his interested judges find him guilty. He resolved, however, not to expose himself to the ignominy of a trial, in that country, which had been the scene of his triumphs; and without waiting for the arrival of his judges, to repair directly to Castile, and commit himself and his cause to the justice and generosity of his King.

The Emperor Charles, having now nothing to apprehend from the designs of Cortes, received him at Court like a person, whom conscious innocence had brought into the presence of his master, and who was entitled, by the eminence of his services, to the highest marks of distinction and respect. The order of St. Jago, the title of Marquis del Valle de Guaxaca, and the grant of a vast territory in New Spain, were successively bestowed upon him.

Cortes returned to New-Spain; but his power was so cramped, that he found himself in a very disagreeable situation. He formed schemes for new discoveries, explored California, and surveyed the greater part of the Gulf which separates it from New-Spain. On his return to his government he found himself surrounded with so many enemies, that he determined once more to seek redress in his native country.

On his arrival in Old Spain, the Emperor behaved to him with cold civility, his ministers treated him sometimes with neglect, and sometimes with insolence. His grievances received no redress, his claims were urged without effect, and several years passed in fruitless applications to ministers and judges; an occupation the most irksome and mortifying to a man of spirit. Cortes finished his mortal career on the second day of December, 1547, in the sixty-second year of his age, having experienced the same fate with that of all the persons who distinguished themselves in the discovery or conquest of the New World: envied by his contemporaries, and ill requited by the courts he served, he has been admired and celebrated by succeeding ages.

## REMARKABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

- 1518 *Cortes is sent by Velasquez to conquer New Spain.*
- 1519 *Lands his troops in New Spain.*  
*Destroys his own fleet.*  
*Sets out for Mexico with his little army.*
- 1520 *Montezuma acknowledges himself a vassal of Spain.*  
*Death of the Emperor Montezuma.*
- 1521 *The conquest of all Mexico, followed by the taking of the city.*  
*The Strait of Magellan discovered.*
- 1522 *Cortes appointed Captain-General and Governor of New Spain.*
- 1536 *Cortes discovers California.*
- 1540 *Returns home and there dies.*

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## CHAP. VI.

THE discovery of the Southern Ocean by Balboa excited a spirit of adventure in the colonies of Darien and Panama, who sighed after the imaginary wealth of those unknown regions. Several armaments were fitted out in 1523, in order to explore and take possession of the countries to the east of Panama, but under the conduct of leaders, whose talents and resources were unequal to the attempt. They proved unsuccessful, and thereby damped the ardour of others.

Three persons settled in Panama, whose names were Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro and Hernando Luque, resolved to attempt the discovery of Peru, notwithstanding the ill success of former adventurers. These three men were destined to overturn one of the most extensive empires on the face of the earth; though Pizarro was a bastard, with very little education; Almagro a foundling; and Luque, a priest and schoolmaster at Panama.

Each engaged to employ his whole fortune in this adventure.—Pizarro, being the poorest of the three, undertook the department of the greatest fatigue and danger, and to command in person the armament destined for the discovery. Almagro was to conduct the supplies of provisions and reinforcement of troops, of which Pizarro might stand in need. Luque was to remain at Panama to negotiate with the governor, and superintend whatever was carrying on for the general good. As the spirit of enthusiasm uniformly accompanied that of adventure in the New World, and by that strange union both acquired an increase of force, this confederacy formed by ambition and avarice, was confirmed by the most solemn act of religion. Luque celebrated mass, divided a consecrated host into three, and reserving one part to himself, gave the other two to his associates, of which they partook, and thus, in the name of the Prince of Peace, ratified a contract, of which plunder and bloodshed were the principal objects in view.

On the 14th of November, 1525, Pizarro set sail from Panama with a single vessel of small burthen, and 112 men. His voyage, however, was attended with great difficulties and hardships. After remaining five months in the island of Gorgona, noted for the most unhealthy climate in that region of America. A vessel arrived from Panama. This transported them with such joy, that all their former sufferings were forgotten. Their hopes revived, and Pizarro found little difficulty to induce not only his own followers, but also the crew of the vessel from Panama, to resume his former scheme with no less ardour. Instead of returning to Panama, they stood towards the South East, and more fortunate in this than in any of their past efforts, on the twentieth day after their departure from Gorgona, they discovered the coast of Peru.

After touching at several villages on the coast, they landed at Tumbez, a place of some note, about three degrees south of the line, distinguished for its stately temple, and a palace of the Incas, or sovereigns of the country. There the Spaniards feasted their eyes with the first view of the opulence and civilization of the Peruvian empire. They beheld a country fully peopled and cultivated with an appearance of regular industry; the natives decently clothed, and possessed of ingenuity so far surpassing the other inhabitants of the New World, as to have the use of tame and domestic animals. But what chiefly attracted their notice, was such a show of gold and silver not only in the ornaments of their persons and temples, but in several vessels and utensils for common use, formed of those precious metals as left no room to doubt that it abounded with profusion in the country. Pizarro and his companions now seemed to have attained the completion of their most sanguine hopes, and fancied that all their wishes and dreams of rich domains, and inexhaustible treasures, would soon be realized.

Pizarro, having explored the country as far as it was necessary to ascertain the importance of the discovery, procured from the inhabitants some of their *Llamas*, or tame cattle, to which the Spaniards gave the name of sheep; some vessels of gold and silver, as well as some specimens of their other works of ingenuity; and two young men whom he proposed to instruct in the Castilian language, that they might serve as interpreters in the expedition he meditated. With these he arrived at Panama, towards the close of the third year from the time of his departure thence. No adventurer of the age suffered hardships or encountered dangers which equal those to which he was exposed during this long period.

On their arrival at Panama, Pizarro could not prevail on the governor to assist him in the conquest of Peru; his associates therefore sent him to Spain to negotiate, where he managed matters more to his own interest than to theirs. On the 26th of July, 1528, Pizarro was appointed governor, captain general, and adelantado of the countries he had discovered and hoped to conquer, with supreme authority, civil as well as military: thus he secured to himself whatever his boundless ambition could desire.



After all the efforts of Pizarro and his associates, three small vessels, with 180 soldiers, 36 of whom were horsemen, composed the whole of the armament. With this contemptible force in February, 1531, Pizarro did not hesitate to sail to invade a great empire.

He no sooner landed in Peru, than he began hostilities, by which imprudent conduct his followers were exposed to famine, fatigue, and diseases of various kinds. However they at length reached the province of Coaque; and having surprised the principal settlement of the natives, they seized there, vessels and ornaments of gold and silver to the amount of thirty thousand pesos, with other booty of such value, as dispelled all their fears, and inspired the most desponding with sanguine hopes.

The dominions of the sovereigns of Peru, at the time that the Spaniards invaded them, extended in length, from north to south, above fifteen hundred miles along the Pacific Ocean. Its breadth from east to west, was much less considerable, being uniformly bounded by the vast ridge of the Andes, stretching from its one extremity to the other.

Pizarro, soon after his landing in Peru, discovered that a civil war was carrying on in that country. By these means he was permitted to pursue his operations unmolested, and advanced to the centre of a great empire, before one effort of its power was exerted to stop his career. The first complete information the Spaniards received of this war, was by messengers from Huascar, one of the contending parties, sent to Pizarro, in order to solicit his aid against his opponent Atahualpa. Pizarro at once perceived the importance of this intelligence, and foresaw so clearly all the advantages, which might be derived from this divided state of the kingdom he had invaded, that without waiting for the reinforcements he expected from Panama, he determined to push forward, while intestine discord put it out of the power of the Peruvians to attack him with their whole force, and while by taking part, as circumstances should incline him, with one of the competitors, he might be enabled with greater ease to crush them both.

Strange as it may appear, Pizarro marched into the heart of the country attended by his followers, consisting only of 62 horsemen, and 102 foot soldiers, of whom twenty were armed with cross bows, and three with muskets. Pizarro in the course of his march, received an ambassador from the inca of Caxamalca, who brought him very valuable presents from that Prince, accompanied with a proffer of alliance. Pizarro according to the usual artifice of his countrymen in America promised every thing without meaning to fulfil any thing but what his interest directed. In consequence of these declarations, the Spaniards were permitted to march where they pleased.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took possession of a large court on one side of which was a house, which the Spanish historians call a palace of the Inca, and on the other a temple of the Sun, the whole surrounded with a strong rampart or wall of earth. When

he had posted his troops in this advantageous situation, and had seen what profusion of riches the Inca possessed, Pizarro treacherously seized on his person, during the interview to which the monarch had invited him. While the Inca was engaged in conference with the Spaniards, Pizarro gave the signal of assault. At once the martial musick struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, the horse sallied out fiercely to the charge, and the infantry rushed on sword in hand. The Peruvians astonished at the suddenness of the attack which they did not expect, and dismayed with the destructive effect of fire arms, and the irresistible impression of the cavalry, fled with universal consternation in every quarter, without attempting either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themselves. Pizarro at the head of his followers, advanced directly towards the Inca; and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in sacrificing their own lives, that they might cover the sacred person of their king, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat, and Pizarro seizing the Inca by the arm dragged him to the ground, and carried him as a prisoner to his quarters. The fate of the monarch precipitated the flight of his followers. The Spaniards every where pursued them, and with a deliberate unrelenting barbarity, continued to slaughter the wretched Peruvians, who never attempted to resist. The carnage did not cease till the close of the day put an end to it, when above four thousand Peruvians lay dead on the spot. Not a single Spaniard fell, nor was any one wounded but Pizarro himself, whose hand was slightly hurt.

The plunder the Spaniards acquired on this massacre, was far beyond every thing they had formed in their minds of the wealth of Peru, and they were so transported with the value of the acquisition as well as the greatness of their success, that they passed the night in those extravagant exultations natural to indigent adventurers on so sudden a change in their affairs.

The captive monarch could not at first hardly believe what he saw to be real: and the dejection into which he sunk was in proportion to the height of grandeur from which he had fallen. However, the Inca soon discovered the ruling passion of the Spaniards, and by applying to that made an attempt to recover his liberty.—He offered as a ransom what astonished the Spaniards, even after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length, and sixteen in breadth; he undertook to fill it with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro eagerly closed with this tempting proposal, and a line was drawn upon the wall of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height to which the treasure was to reach.

As fast as the gold was brought in, it was melted down, except some pieces of curious fabric, which were reserved as a present for the emperor. After setting apart the fifth due to the crown, and an hundred thousand pesos as a donative to the soldiers, who were just arrived with Almagro, there remained 1,538,500 pesos

to Pizarro and his followers. The festival of St. James, (July 25, 1532) the patron saint of Spain, was the day chosen for the partition of this vast sum. Though assembled to divide the spoils of an innocent people, procured by deceit, extortion and cruelty, the transaction began with a solemn invocation of the name of God, as if they could have expected the guidance of heaven in distributing those wages of iniquity. In this distribution 8000 pesos, at that time not inferior in effective value, to as many pounds sterling of the present century, fell to the share of each horseman, and half that sum to each foot soldier. Pizarro and his officers received their dividends in proportion to their superior station.

The Inca having thus fulfilled his engagement, demanded his release; but the treachery of the Spaniards induced them instead of setting him at liberty, to put a period to his life. He was tried and condemned to be burnt alive. At last the unfortunate prince consented to receive baptism, and was therefore indulged with being strangled at the stake.

Pizarro, having by these cruel proceedings established his authority in Caxamalca, no longer hesitated to advance towards Cuzco; and having received considerable reinforcements, he could venture, with little danger to penetrate into the interior part of the country. The Peruvians had assembled some large bodies of troops to oppose his progress, and several fierce encounters happened; but they terminated like all the actions in America: a few Spaniards were killed or wounded, and the natives were put to flight with incredible slaughter. At length Pizarro forced his way to Cuzco, and took quiet possession of the capital. The riches found there, even after all the natives had carried off and concealed, either from a superstitious veneration for the ornaments of their temples, or out of hatred to their rapacious conquerors, exceeded in value what had been received as the Inca's ransom.—However, as Pizarro's forces were now more numerous, the common soldiers did not receive so much as they expected, which proved a disappointment to their rapacity.

After all these conquests, Pizarro set out for his native country, and arrived in Spain in 1534. The immense quantities of gold and silver which he imported, filled the kingdom with astonishment.—Pizarro was received by the Emperor with the attention due to the bearer of a present so rich, as to exceed any idea the Spaniards had formed concerning the value of their acquisitions in America, even after they had been ten years masters of Mexico. Pizarro was admitted into the order of St. Jago, and, after getting his authority confirmed with new powers and privileges, he set out on his return to Peru, accompanied by many persons of higher rank than had yet served in that country. Almagro received the honours he had so long desired: the title of Adelantado, or governor, was conferred upon him, with jurisdiction over two hundred leagues of the country stretching beyond the southern limits of the province allotted to Pizarro.

On his arrival at Peru, he found Almagro in arms opposing his



interest, and endeavouring to do himself justice for the treacherous conduct of Pizarro, who had engrossed himself all the honours and emoluments, which ought to have been divided with his associate. However, matters were accommodated between them. Their new agreement was confirmed with the same power of solemnities as the first, and observed with as little fidelity.

Cuzco, the capital city of the Incas, was situated in the corner of the empire, above four hundred miles from the sea, and much further from Quito, a province of whose value he had formed an high idea. No other settlement of the Peruvians was so considerable as to merit the name of a town, or to allure the Spaniards to fix their residence in it. Pizarro, in marching through the country, had been struck with the beauty and fertility of the valley of Rimac, one of the most extensive and best cultivated in Peru. There, on the bank of a small river of the same name with the vale which it waters and enriches, at the distance of six miles from Callao, the most commodious harbour in the Pacific ocean, he founded a city, which he destined to be the capital of his government. On the 18th of Jan. 1535, he gave it the name of *Ciudad de los Reyes*, either from the circumstance of having laid the first stone, at that season when the church celebrates the festival of the three Kings, or as is more probable, in honour of Juana and Charles, the sovereigns of Castile. This name it still retains among the Spaniards in all legal and formal deeds, but it is better known to foreigners by that *Lima*, a corruption of the antient appellation of the valley in which it is situated. Under his inspection, the buildings advanced with such rapidity, that it soon assumed the form of a city, which by a magnificent palace that he erected for himself, and by the stately houses built by several of his officers, gave a strong proof of the grandeur it was at last to acquire.

Almagro, as agreed on between him and Pizarro, set out for Chili; but on his march, he met with so many hardships and difficulties, that many of his men died with fatigue. They no sooner entered on the fertile plains of Chili, than they met with new difficulties to encounter. They there found a race of men very different from the people of Peru, intrepid, hardy, independent, and in their bodily constitution, as well as vigour of spirit, nearly resembling the warlike tribes in North America. Though filled with wonder at the first appearance of the Spaniards, and still more astonished at the operation of their cavalry, and the effects of their fire arms, the Chilese soon recovered so far from their surprize, as not only to defend themselves with obstinacy, but to attack their new enemies with more determined fierceness than any American nation had hitherto discovered. The Spaniards, however, continued to penetrate into the country, and collected some considerable quantities of gold, when they were recalled to Peru by an unexpected event.

The Inca of Peru, having observed the inconsiderate security of the Spaniards in dispersing their troops, and that only a handful of soldiers remained in Cuzco, thought that the happy period was at

length come for vindicating his own rights, for avenging the wrongs of his country, and extirpating its oppressors. The Inca, who was the prisoner of Pizarro, obtained permission from him to attend a great festival, which was to be celebrated a few leagues from the capital. Under pretext of that solemnity, the great men of the empire were assembled. As soon as the Inca joined them the standard of war was erected, and in a short time, all the fighting men, from the confines of Quito to the frontiers of Chili, were in arms. Many Spaniards, living securely on the settlements allotted them, were massacred. Several detachments, as they marched carelessly through a country which seemed to be tamely submissive to their dominion, were cut off to a man. The Spanish writers assert, that the Peruvian army amounted to 200,000 men, and with this powerful army, and their Inca at the head of it, they laid siege to Cuzco. During nine months they carried on the siege with incessant ardour, and in various forms. The Inca, in spite of the valour of the Spaniards, recovered possession of one half of his capital, and, in their various efforts to drive him out of it, Pizarro lost one of his brothers, and some other persons of note.

Almagro arrived at Cuzco in a critical moment. The Inca at first endeavoured to gain the friendship of Almagro; but after many fruitless overtures, despairing of any cordial union with a Spaniard, he attacked him by surprize with a numerous body of chosen troops. However, the Spanish discipline and valour maintained their usual superiority. The Peruvians were repulsed with such slaughter, that a great part of their army dispersed, and Almagro proceeded to the gates of Cuzco without opposition.

The Spaniards had no sooner got rid of their Peruvian enemies, than they began to quarrel among themselves, and the flame at last burst out into civil war. Though countrymen and friends, the subjects of the same sovereign, each with the royal standard displayed! and though they beheld the mountains that surrounded the plain in which they were drawn up, covered with a vast multitude of Indians, assembled to enjoy the spectacle of their mutual carnage, and prepared to attack whatever party remained master of the field; so fell and implacable was the rancour which had taken possession of every breast, that not one pacific council, not a single overture towards accommodation, proceeded from either side. Almagro was defeated and taken, tried by the Pizarros as guilty of treason, and condemned and executed, in 1538.

However rapid the progress of the Spaniards had been in South America since Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet satisfied. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into several new provinces, and though some of them were exposed to great hardships in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others suffered distress not inferior amidst the woods and marshes of the plains, they made discoveries, and conquests which not only extended their knowledge of the country, but added considerably to

the territories of Spain in the new world. Pedro de Valdivia re-assumed Almagro's scheme of invading Chili, and notwithstanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their possessions, made such progress in the conquest of the country, that he founded the city of St. Jago, and gave a beginning to the establishment of the Spanish dominions in that province.

Gonzalo Pizarro, whom his brother Francisco had made governor of Quito, had entrusted one of his confidential officers, named Orellana, with an expedition on discoveries; appointing a proper place where they were to meet; but this young officer began to fancy himself independent, and transported with the predominant passion of the age, formed schemes of distinguishing himself as a discoverer, and treacherously abandoned his friend and employer.

It is impossible to describe the consternation of Pizarro, when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Maragnon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him; but that treacherous servant, after having made some discoveries, got back to Spain, and there magnified his wonderful exploits. In the meantime, Pizarro was twelve hundred miles from Quito; and, in that long march towards the capital, the Spaniards encountered hardships greater than those they had endured in their progress outward, without the alluring hopes that then soothed and animated them under their sufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horses, to devour the most loathsome reptiles, and even to gnaw the leather of their saddles and sword belts. Four thousand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards perished in this wild and disastrous expedition, which continued near two years. Those that got back to Quito were naked like savages, and so emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of spectres than men.

Gonzalo Pizarro was not much more happy on his arrival at his government of Quito, where he found every thing in a state little short of open rebellion against his brother Francisco. The young Almagro, after the execution of his father, never lost sight of taking revenge of Pizarro. He possessed all the qualities which captivate the affection of soldiers; he was of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial exercises, bold, open and generous, he seemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conscious of his own inferiority from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every science becoming a gentleman, the accomplishments he had acquired heightened the respect of his followers; as they gave him distinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing to promote his interest. Their affection for Almagro was not the only incitement, being urged on by their own distresses. Many of them, destitute of common necessities, and weary of loitering away life a burden to their chief, or to such of their associates as had



saved some remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiscation sighed for an occasion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their misery. Juan de Harrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the direction of their consultations, with all the zeal which this connexion inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendancy that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

On Sunday, the sixth of June, 1541, at midnight, the season of tranquillity and repose in all sultry climates, Harrada, at the head of eighteen of the most determined conspirators, sallied out of Almagro's house in complete armour, and drawing their swords, hastily advanced towards Pizarro's house. Their associates, warned of their motions by a signal, were in arms at different stations to support them. Though Pizarro was usually surrounded by such a numerous train of attendants, as suited the magnificence of the most opulent subject of the age in which he lived, yet he was just risen from table, and most of his domestics had retired to their own apartments, so that the conspirators passed through the two outward courts of the palace unobserved. They were at the bottom of the staircase, before a page in waiting could give the alarm to his master, who was conversing with a few friends in a large hall. The governor, whose steady mind no form of danger could alter, starting up, called for arms, and commanded Francisco de Chaves to make fast the door: but that officer, who did not retain so much presence of mind as to obey this prudent order, running to the top of the staircase, wildly asked the conspirators what they meant; and whither they were going. Instead of answering, they stabbed him to the heart, and burst into the hall. Some of the persons who were there threw themselves from the windows, others attempted to fly, and a few, drawing their swords, followed their leader into an inner apartment. The conspirators, animated with having the object of their vengeance now in view, rushed forward after them. Pizarro, with no other arms than his sword and buckler, defended the entry, and supported by his half brother Alcantara, and his little knot of friends, he maintained the unequal contest with intrepidity worthy of his past exploits, and with the vigour of a youthful combatant. "Courage, (he cried), companions, we are yet enow to make those traitors repent of their audacity." But the armour of the conspirators protected them, while every thrust they made took effect. Alcantara fell dead at his brother's feet, and his other defenders were mortally wounded. The governor, unable any longer to parry the many weapons furiously aimed at him, received a deadly thrust full in the throat, sunk to the ground and expired.

As soon as Pizarro was killed, the assassins ran out into the streets, and waving their bloody swords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. About two hundred of their associates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro in solemn procession through the city, and assembling the magistrates and principle citizens;

compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful successor to his father in his government.

Matters were not properly settled, when the arrival of Vaco de Castro, who assumed the title of governor, threw every thing again into fresh confusion. Castro and Almagro both took the field. The former, knowing his strength to be far superior to that of the enemy, he was impatient to determine the contest by a battle. Nor did the followers of Almagro, who had no hopes of obtaining a pardon for a crime so atrocious as the murder of the governor, decline that mode of decision.

On the 16th of September, 1542, they met at Chupaz, about two hundred miles from Cuzco, and fought with all the fierce animosity inspired by the violence of civil rage, the rancour of private enmity, the eagerness of revenge, and the last efforts of despair. Victory, after remaining long doubtful, declared at last for Vaco de Castro. The carnage was great in proportion to the number of combatants. Of fourteen hundred men, the total amount of the armies on both sides, five hundred lay dead on the field, and the number of the wounded was still greater. Of the prisoners, Castro condemned some to death, others were banished Peru, and Almagro being taken, was publicly beheaded.

The feelings of the emperor were exceedingly hurt at the recital of so many actions shocking to humanity. He perceived, that relieving the Indians from oppression was but one step towards rendering his possessions in the new world a valuable acquisition, and would be of little avail, unless he could circumscribe the power and usurpations of his own subjects there. With this view, he formed a body of laws, containing many salutary appointments with respect to the constitution and powers of the supreme council of the Indies; concerning the station and jurisdiction of the royal audiences in different parts of America; and the order of government, both ecclesiastical and civil.

Notwithstanding these regulations, Peru was hastening to the highest pitch of anarchy and confusion. Castro however, by his wise and prudent measures, for some time averted the storm. A viceroy was sent over by the emperor, and, soon after his arrival in Peru, he was first imprisoned, and, after obtaining his liberty, and raising an army to support his authority, was slain in battle. In this critical situation, the emperor sent over Pedro de la Gasca as president of Peru, who, by his moderation and good management, might have done great things, had not Gonzalo Pizarro, supported by a strong party, assumed the government of Peru. Gasca, perceiving that force must be employed in order to accomplish the purpose of his mission, collected troops in all quarters.

On the 9th of April, 1547, as the two parties moved forward to the charge, they exhibited a very singular appearance. In that of Pizarro, composed of men enriched with the spoils of the most opulent country in America, every officer and almost all the private men, were cloathed in stuffs of silk or brocade, embroidered with gold and silver; and their horses, their arms, their standards,



were adorned with all the pride of military pomp. That of Gasca, though not so splendid, exhibited what was no less striking. He himself, accompanied by the archbishop of Lima, the bishops of Quito and Cuzco, and a great number of ecclesiastics, marching along the lines, blessed the men, and encouraged them to a resolute discharge of their duty, which could not fail that day of restoring Peru to peace and tranquillity.

When both armies were just ready to engage, several of Pizarro's principal officers set spurs to their horses, and went over to Gasca, and many others silently slipped away. Pizarro, seeing all irretrievably lost, cried out in amazement to a few officers, who still faithfully adhered to him, "What remains for us to do?" "Let us rush (replied one of them) upon the enemy's firmest battalion, and die like Romans." Pizarro, dejected with such a reverse of fortune, had not spirit to follow this soldierly counsel, and, with a tameness disgraceful to his former fame, he surrendered to one of Gasca's officers. Gasca, happy in this bloodless victory, did not stain it with cruelty. Pizarro, and a small number of the most distinguished or notorious offenders, were capitally punished. Pizarro was beheaded on the day after he surrendered. He submitted to his fate with a composed dignity, and seemed desirous to atone by repentance for the crimes he had committed.

Pizarro was no sooner dead, than the malcontents in every quarter of Peru laid down their arms, and tranquillity was soon restored. Gasca then endeavoured to find employment for the mutinous soldiers who had laid down their arms, which he did by engaging them in the conquest of Chili. In order to reward his own soldiers, he made a division of the country among them, without reserving the smallest portion to himself.

Gasca having now accomplished every object of his mission, and longing to return again to a private station, committed the government of Peru to the court of audience, and set out for Spain on the first of February, 1550.

There had been no remittance of the royal revenue for four years, owing to the distracted state of the country. Gasca, however, on his return to Spain, carried with him 1,300,000 pesos of public money, which the prudence and good order of administration enabled him to save, after paying all the expences of the war. He was received in his native country with universal admiration and esteem for his abilities and his virtues, both which were highly conspicuous. Without army or fleet, or public funds; with a train so simple, that only three thousand ducats were expended in equipping him, he set out to oppose a formidable rebellion. But the praise bestowed on his abilities were exceeded by that which his virtues merited. After residing in a country where wealth presented allurements, which had seduced every person who had hitherto possessed power there, he retired from the trying station with integrity, not only untainted but unsuspected. After distributing among his countrymen possessions of greater extent and value that had ever been in the disposal of a subject in any age or



nation, he himself remained in his original state of poverty, and at the very time when he brought such a large recruit to the royal treasury, he was obliged to apply by petition for a small sum to discharge some petty debts, which he had contracted during the course of his services. Charles was not insensible to such disinterested merit. Gasca was received by him with the most distinguished marks of esteem, and being promoted to the bishopric of Palencia, he passed the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of retirement, respected by his country, honoured by his sovereign, and beloved by all.

#### MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

- 1526 *Pizarro discovers Peru.*
- 1528 *He is appointed governor of the newly discovered countries.*
- 1532 *Massacre of the Peruvians by the Spaniards.*
- 1533 *The Inca of Caxamalca tried, condemned and executed.*
- 1534 *Pizarro arrives in Spain.*
- 1535 *On his return to Peru, he builds Lima.*  
*Chili invaded by Almagro.*
- 1536 *Siege of Cuzco.*
- 1538 *Almagro tried, condemned, and executed.*
- 1541 *Pizarro assassinated in his palace.*
- 1546 *Pedro de la Gasca appointed President of Peru.*
- 1548 *He suppresses the rebellion in Peru.*
- 1550 *Returns to Spain, and is made Bishop of Palencia.*

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#### CONCLUSION.

HAVING now taken a review of the conquest of the two great empires of Mexico and Peru, very little more seems worthy of notice in the History of South America than to mention a few circumstances relative to their political institutions and national manners.

According to the account of the Mexicans themselves, their empire was not of long continuance. They relate, that their country was originally possessed, rather than peopled, by small independent tribes, whose manners and mode of life resembled those of the rudest savages in South America. About a period corresponding to the beginning of the tenth century in the Christian æra, several tribes moved in successive migrations from unknown regions towards the north and north west, and settled in different provinces of Anahuac, the ancient name of New Spain. These, more civilized than the original inhabitants, began to form them to the arts of social life. At length, towards the commencement of the thirteenth century, the Mexicans, a people more polished than any of the former, advanced from the borders of the Californian gulf, and took possession of the plains adjacent to a great lake near the centre of the country. After residing there about fifty years they founded

a town, since distinguished by the name of *Mexico*, which from humble beginnings soon grew to be the most considerable city in the New World. The Mexicans, long after they were established in their new possessions, continued, like other martial tribes in America, unacquainted with regal dominion; and were governed in peace, and conducted in war, by such as were entitled to pre-eminence by their wisdom or their valour. Among them, as in other states, whose power and territories become extensive, the supreme authority centred at last in a single person: and when the Spaniards under Cortes invaded the country, Montezuma was the ninth monarch in order, who had swayed the Mexican sceptre, not by hereditary right, but by election. Such is the traditional tale of the Mexicans concerning the progress of their own empire, which, according to this account, must have been but of short duration.

While the jurisdiction of the Mexican monarchs was limited, it is probable that much ostentation was not exercised; but as their authority became more extensive, the splendour of their government increased. It was in this last state the Spaniards beheld it, and struck with the appearance of Montezuma's court, they describe its pomp at great length, and with much admiration. The number of his attendants, the order, the silence, and the reverence with which they served him; the vast extent of his royal mansion, the variety of apartments allotted to different officers, and the ostentation with which his grandeur was displayed whenever he permitted his subjects to behold him, seem to resemble the magnificence of the ancient monarchies in Asia, rather than the simplicity of the infant states in the New World.

The Mexicans, like the rude tribes among them, were incessantly engaged in war, and the motives that prompted them to hostilities seem to have been the same. They fought in order to gratify their vengeance, by shedding the blood of their enemies. In battle, they were chiefly intent on taking prisoners, and it was by the number of these that they estimated the glory of victory. No captives were ever ransomed or spared: all were sacrificed without mercy, and their flesh devoured with the same barbarous joy as among the fiercest savages. On some occasions, it rose to even wilder excesses. Their principal warriors covered themselves with the skins of the unhappy victims, and danced about the streets, boasting of their own valour, and exulting over their enemies.

Their funeral rites were no less bloody than those of the most savage tribes. On the death of any distinguished personage, especially of the emperor, several of his attendants were chosen to accompany him to the other world, and these unfortunate victims were put to death without mercy, and buried in the same tomb.

Though the agriculture of the Mexicans was more extensive than that of the roving tribes, who trusted chiefly to their bow for food, it seems not to have supplied them with such subsistence as men require when engaged in efforts of active industry. The Spa-

Spaniards appear not to have been struck with any superiority of the Mexicans over the other people of America in bodily vigour. Both according to their observation, were of such a feeble frame as to be unable to endure fatigue, and the strength of one Spaniard exceeded that of several Indians. This they imputed to their scanty diet, on poor fare, sufficient to preserve life, but not to give firmness to the constitution.

In Mexico, though the disposition of the houses was somewhat orderly, yet the structure of the greater part of them was mean.—Nor does the fabric of their temples, and other public edifices, appear to have been such as entitled them to the high praises bestowed upon them by many Spanish authors. The great temple of Mexico, the most famous in New Spain, which has been represented as a magnificent building, raised to such a height, that the ascent to it was by a staircase of an hundred and fourteen steps, was a solid mass of earth of a square form, faced partly with stone. Its base on each side extended ninety feet, and decreasing gradually as it advanced in height, it terminated in a quadrangle of about thirty feet, where were placed a shrine of the deity, and two altars on which the victims were sacrificed. Greater skill and ingenuity were displayed, if we may believe the Spanish historians, in the houses of the emperor, and in those of the principal nobility.—There some elegance of design was visible, and a commodious arrangement of the apartments was attended to; but if buildings corresponding to such descriptions had ever existed in the Mexican cities, it is probable that some remains of them would still be visible. As only two centuries and an half have elapsed since the conquest of New Spain, it seems altogether incredible, that in a period so short every vestige of this boasted elegance and grandeur should have disappeared.

The Mexicans have been represented, perhaps, more barbarous than they really were; their religious tenets, and the rites of their worship, are described as wild and cruel in an extreme degree. The aspect of superstition in Mexico was gloomy and frightful; its divinities were clothed with terror, and delighted in vengeance. They were exhibited to the people under detestable forms, which created horror. The figures of serpents, tygers, and other destructive animals, decorated their temples. Feasts, mortifications, and penances, all rigid, and many of them excruciating to an extreme degree, were the means employed to appease the wrath of their gods, and the Mexicans never approached their altars without sprinkling them with blood drawn from their bodies; but of all offerings, human sacrifices were deemed the most acceptable.

The empire of *Peru* boasts of an higher antiquity than that of Mexico. According to the traditionary accounts collected by the Spaniards, it had subsisted near four hundred years under twelve successive monarchs; but the knowledge of their antient story, which the Peruvians could communicate to their conquerors, must have been both imperfect and uncertain. Like the other Ameri-



can nations, they were totally unacquainted with the art of writing, and destitute of the only means, by which the memory of past transactions can be preserved with any degree of accuracy.

The authority of the Inca was unlimited and absolute, in the most extensive meaning of the words. Whenever the decrees of a prince are considered as the commands of the divinity, it is not only an act of rebellion, but of impiety, to dispute or oppose his will. Obedience becomes a duty of religion; and as it would be profane to controul a monarch under the guidance of heaven, and presumptuous to advise him, nothing remains but to submit with implicit respect. This must necessarily be the effect of every government established on pretensions of intercourse with superior powers.—Such accordingly was the blind submission which the Peruvians yielded to their sovereign.

The Incas of Peru were immensely rich in gold and silver, long before they knew any thing of the rich silver mines of Potosi, which were accidentally discovered in the year 1545, by an Indian, as he was clambering up the mountains in pursuit of a Llama which had strayed from his flock. Soon after the mines of Sacotecas in New Spain, little inferior to the other in value, were opened.—From that time successive discoveries have been made in both colonies, and silver mines are now so numerous, that the working of them, and of some few mines of gold in the province of Tierra Firme, and the new kingdom of Grenada, has become the capital occupation of the Spaniards, and is reduced into a system no less complicated than interesting.

To return : the wars in which the Incas engaged, were carried on with a spirit very different from those of other American nations. They fought not like savages, to destroy or extirminate, or, like the Mexicans, to glut bloodthirsty divinities with human sacrifices. They conquered in order to reclaim and civilize the vanquished, and to infuse the knowledge of their own institutions and arts. Prisoners seem not to have been exposed to the insults and tortures which were their lot in every other part of the new world. The Incas took the people whom they subdued under their protection, and admitted them to a participation of all the advantages enjoyed by their original subjects.

In Peru, agriculture, the art of primary necessity in social life, was more extensive, and carried on with greater skill, than in any other part of America. The Spaniards, in their progress through the country, were so full supplied with provisions of every kind, that in the relation of their adventures we meet with few of those dismal scenes of distress, occasioned by famine, in which the conquerors of Mexico were so often involved. The quantity of soil under cultivation was not left to the discretion of individuals, but regulated by public authority, in proportion to the exigencies of the community. Even the calamity of an unfruitful season was but little felt; for the product of the lands consecrated to the sun, as well as those set apart for the Incas, being deposited in the public storehouses, it there remained as a stated provision for times of scarcity.

The ingenuity of the Peruvians was also conspicuous in the construction of their houses and public buildings, in the extensive plains which stretch along the pacific ocean, where the sky is perpetually serene, and the climate mild, their houses were very properly built only of slight materials; but in the higher regions, where rain falls, where the vicissitudes of seasons are known, and their rigour felt, houses were constructed with great solidity. They were generally of a square form, the walls about eight feet high, built of bricks hardened in the sun, without any windows, and the door low and straight. Simple as these structures were, and rude as the materials may seem to be, of which they were formed, they were so durable, that many of them still subsist in different parts of Peru, long after every monument that might have conveyed to us any idea of the domestic state of the other American nations, has vanished from the face of the earth. It was in the temples consecrated to the Sun, and in the buildings destined for the residence of their monarchs, that the Peruvians displayed the utmost extent of their art and contrivance. The descriptions of them by some of the Spanish writers, who had an opportunity of contemplating them, while, in some measure, entire, might have appeared highly exaggerated, if the ruins which still remain did not vouch for the truth of their relations.

The unwarlike spirit of the Peruvians was the most remarkable, as well as the most fatal defect in their character. The greater part of the rude nations of America opposed their invaders with the most undaunted ferocity, though with little conduct or success. The Mexicans maintained the struggle in defence of their liberties with such persevering fortitude, that it was with difficulty they triumphed over them. Peru was subdued at once, and almost without resistance; and the most favourable opportunities of regaining their freedom, and of crushing their oppressors, were lost through the timidity of the people.

END OF THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AMERICA.





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## PREFACE

TO THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA.

FUTURE generations will perhaps view the late Revolution in North America, as the most singular phenomenon that ever appeared in the political hemisphere of any nation.

To point out the gradual steps by which America finally obtained her Independence, to describe those terrible scenes of rapine blood, and slaughter, which accompanied those struggles, so fatal to thousands of brave officers and men on both sides, and so ruinous to the finances of the mother-country are principally the objects of this epitome.

In the execution of this business, we have endeavoured to divest ourselves of every spark of national prejudice, and have therefore contented ourselves with barely relating facts, without presuming to give our opinion thereon, wishing to leave our readers the sole power of judging for themselves.

Besides the detail of these important events, we have given an account of the customs and manners of the original inhabitants of North America, and such as they nearly are at this day. We have also shewn at what time, and by what causes, the British colonies, in North America were first settled, and having marked their rise from their original insignificance, till they became *Thirteen United and Independent States.*



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
NORTH AMERICA.

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CHAP. I.

BEFORE we proceed to describe what America is at present, or by what means she became independent of the Mother Country, it cannot be disagreeable to our readers, to be informed of the persons, customs, and manners, of the original inhabitants of North America.

The native American Indians are tall and straight in their limbs, beyond the proportion of most nations. Their bodies are strong, but more fitted to endure much hardship, than to continue long at any servile work, which they cannot support. Their bodies and heads are flattish; their features are even and regular, but their countenances fierce; their hair long, black, lank, and very strong, but without beards. The colour of their skin is a reddish brown, which most of them admire, and take proper methods to improve.

The Europeans, on their first arrival in America, found the Indians quite naked, except those parts, which it is common for the most uncivilized people to conceal. Since that time, they have generally a coarse blanket to cover them, which they buy from their neighbours. The whole tenor of their lives is of a piece: they are hardy, poor, and squalid; and their education, from their infancy, is solely directed to fit their bodies for the mode of life they pursue, and to form their minds to inflict and endure the greatest evils. Their only occupations are hunting and war, for agriculture is left to their women.

As soon as their hunting season is over, which they go through with much patience, and in which they exert great ingenuity, they pass the rest of their lives in entire indolence. They sleep half the day in their huts, and observe no bounds of decency in their eating and drinking. Before the Europeans discovered them, they had no spirituous liquors; but now, the acquirement of these is the principal object of their pursuit.

The Indians are grave, even to sadness, in their deportment upon any serious occasion, observant of those in company, respectful



to the old, and of a temper cool and deliberate. They are never in haste to speak before they have thought well of the matter, and are sure the person, who spoke before them, has finished all he has to say. They have, therefore, the greatest contempt for the vivacity of the Europeans, who interrupt each other, and frequently speak all together. In their public councils and assemblies, every man speaks in his turn, according as his years, his wisdom, or his services to his country, have ranked him. Not a word, not a whisper, not a murmur is heard from the rest while he speaks ; no indecent condemnation, no ill-timed applause. The younger class attend for their instruction, and here they learn the history of their nation ; here they are inflamed with the songs of those who celebrate the warlike actions of their ancestors ; and here they are taught what are the interests of their country, and how to pursue them.

Though the American Indian is naturally humane and hospitable, yet, to the enemies of his country, or to those who have privately offended him, he is implacable. — He conceals his resentments, he appears reconciled, till, by some treachery or surprise, he has an opportunity of executing an horrible revenge. No length of time is sufficient to allay his resentment, no distance of place great enough to protect the object ; he crosses the steepest mountains, he pierces the most impervious forests, and traverses the most hideous bogs and deserts for some hundreds of miles, bearing the inclemency of the seasons, the fatigue of the expedition, the extremes of hunger and thirst, with patience and cheerfulness, in hopes of surprising his enemy, on whom he exercises the most shocking barbarities.

The Americans have scarce any temples ; for, as they live by hunting, inhabit mean cottages, and are given to change their habitation, they are seldom very religious. Some appear to have little ideas of God ; others entertain better notions, and hold the existence of the Supreme Being, eternal and uncorruptible, who has power over all. Satisfied with owning this, which is traditional among them, they pay him no sort of worship.

The darling passion of the Americans is liberty, and that in its fullest extent : to liberty the native Indians sacrifice every thing. This is what makes a life of uncertainty and want supportable to them, and their education is directed in such a manner as to cherish this disposition to the utmost. They are indulged in all manner of liberty ; they are never, upon any account, chastised with blows, and very rarely even chidden.

Though some tribes are found in America with a king at their head, yet his power is rather persuasive than coercive, and he is revered as a father, more than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no prisons, no officers of justice. In some tribes, there are a kind of nobility, who, when they come to years of discretion, are entitled to a place and vote in the councils of the nation. But among the Five Nations, or Iroquois, the most celebrated commonwealth of North America, and in some other nations, there is

no other qualification absolutely necessary for the head-men, but age, with ability and experience in their affairs.

Whenever any affair of consequence is to be transacted, they appoint a feast, of which almost the whole nation partakes. There are smaller feasts on matters of less general concern, to which none are invited but those who are engaged in that particular business. At these feasts it is against all rule to leave any thing; so that, if they cannot eat all, what remains is thrown into the fire. They look upon fire as a thing sacred, and in all probability their feasts were anciently sacrifices. Before the entertainment is ready, the principal person begins a song, the subject of which is the fabulous or real history of their nation, the remarkable events which have happened, and whatever matters may conduce to their honour or instruction. The others sing in their turn. They have dances too, with which they accompany their songs, chiefly of a martial kind; and no solemnity or public business is carried on without such songs and dances.

The charge of the internal peace and order is likewise committed to the same council of their elders, which regulates whatever regards the external policy of the state. Their suits are few, and quickly decided, having neither property nor art enough to render them perplexed or tedious.

The loss of any of their people, whether by war or a natural death, is lamented by the whole town he belongs to. In such circumstances no business is taken in hand, however important, nor any rejoicings permitted, however interesting the occasion, until all the pious ceremonies due to the dead are performed, which are always discharged with the greatest solemnity. The dead body is washed, anointed, and painted, so as in some measure to abate the horrors of death. Then the women lament the loss with the most bitter cries, and the most hideous howlings, intermixed with songs, which celebrate the great actions of the deceased, and those of his ancestors. The men mourn in a less extravagant manner. The whole village attends the body to the grave, which is then interred, habited in their most sumptuous ornaments. With the body of the deceased are placed his bow and arrows, with what he valued most in his life, and provisions for the long journey he is to take. Feasting attends this, as it does every solemnity.

No instances of regard to their deceased friends are so striking as what they call the Feast of the Dead, or the Feast of Souls. The day of this ceremony is appointed in the council of their chiefs, who give orders for every thing that may enable them to celebrate it with pomp and magnificence. The neighbouring people are invited to partake of the feast, and to be witnesses of the solemnity. At this time, all who have died since the last solemn feast of that kind are taken out of their graves; those who have been interred at the greatest distance from the villages are diligently sought after, and brought to this great rendezvous of sepulchral relicts.



The opening of these tombs displays one of the most striking scenes that can be conceived. This humiliating portrait of human misery, exhibited in so many images of death, wherein a thousand various shapes of horror are depicted, according to the different ravages that time has made, forms altogether a scene too indelicate to be here described. I know not which ought to affect us most, the horror of so striking a sight, or the tender piety and affection of those poor people towards their departed friends.

This strange festival is the most magnificent and solemn of any they have, not only on account of the great concourse of natives and strangers, and of the pompous re-interment they give to the dead, whom they dress in the finest skins they can get, after having exposed them for some time in this pomp, but for the games of all kinds which they celebrate upon the occasion, in the spirit of those which the ancient Greeks and Romans celebrated upon similar occasions. In this manner do they endeavour to sooth the calamities of this life, by the honours they pay to the dead. Though among these savage nations this custom is impressed with strong marks of the ferocity of their nature; yet an honour to the dead, a tender feeling of their absence, and a revival of their memory, are some of the most excellent means of softening our rugged nature into humanity.

Though the women in America have generally the laborious part of economy upon themselves, yet they are far from being the slaves they appear, and are not at all subject to the great subordination, in which they are placed in countries where they seem to be more respected. On the contrary, they hold their councils, and have their share in all deliberations that concern the state; nor are they found inferior to the part they act. Polygamy is practised by some nations, but it is not general. In most places, they content themselves with one wife; but a divorce is admitted, and for the same causes that it was allowed among the Jews, Greeks, and Romans. No nation of the Americans is without a regular marriage, in which there are many ceremonies. Incontinent before marriage, after wedlock the chastity of their women is remarkable. The punishment of the adúlteress, as well as that of the adúlterer, is in the hands of the husband himself, and it is often severe, being inflicted by him who is at once the party and the judge. Their marriages are not fruitful, seldom producing above two or three children; and from hence we may derive the principal cause of the depopulation of America.

The manner of their preparing for war, and their mode of carrying it on, seem peculiar to themselves. Almost the sole occupation of the American Indian is war, or such an exercise as qualifies him for it. His whole glory consists in this, and no man is at all considered until he has increased the strength of his country with a captive, or adorned his hat with the scalp of one of his enemies. When the Indians resolve upon war, they do not always declare what nation it is they are determined to attack, that the enemy, upon whom they really intend to fall, may be off their guard; and



they sometimes even let whole years pass over without committing any act of hostility, that the vigilance of all may be unbent by the long continuance of the watch, and the uncertainty of the danger.

In the mean time, they are not idle at home. The principal captain summons the youths of the town to which he belongs, the war-kettle is set on the fire, the war songs and dances commence, the hatchet is sent to the villages and allies of the same nation, and the most hideous howlings continue, without intermission, day and night, over the whole tract of country. The women add their cries to those of the men, lamenting those whom they have either lost in war or by natural death, and demanding their places to be supplied by their enemies.

The fury of the nation being thus raised to the greatest height, and all longing to embrue their hands in blood, the war captain prepares the feast, which consists of dog's flesh. All that partake of this feast receive little billets, which are so many engagements they take to be faithful to each other, and obedient to their commander. None are forced to the war; but, when they have accepted this billet, they are looked upon as enlisted, and it is then death to recede. All the warriors in this assembly have their faces blackened with charcoal, intermixed with dashes and streaks of vermilion, which give them a most horrid appearance. Their hair is dressed up in an odd manner, with feathers of various kinds.

In this assembly, which is preparatory to their military expedition, the chief begins the war-song, which having continued for some time, he raises his voice to the highest pitch, and turning off suddenly in a sort of prayer, he addresses himself to the god of war, whom they call Areskoni. "I invoke thee (says he) to be favourable to my enterprise! I invoke thy care of me and my family! I invoke ye likewise, all ye spirits and dæmons good and evil! all ye that are in the skies, or on the earth, or under the earth, to pour destruction on our enemies, and to return me and my companions safely to my country!" All the warriors join him in his prayer with shouts and acclamations. The captain renews his song, strikes his club against the stakes of the cottage, and begins the war-dance, accompanied with the shouts of all his companions, which continue as long as he dances.

On the day appointed for their departure, they take leave of their friends, and change their clothes, or what moveables they have, in token of friendship. Their wives and female relations go out before them, and attend at some distance from the town. The warriors march out all dressed in their finest apparel and most showy ornaments, regularly one after another, for they never march in rank. Their chief walks slowly on before them, singing the death-song, while the rest preserve the most profound silence. When they come up to the women, they deliver to them all their finery, put on their worst clothes, and then proceed as their commander directs.

The Indians seldom engage in a war upon motives common to Europe: they have no other end but the glory of victory, or the

benefit of their slaves, which it enables them to add to their nation, or sacrifice to their brutal fury ; and it is very seldom, that they take any pains to give their wars even a colour of justice. They fall sometimes on one nation, and sometimes on another, and surprise some of their hunters, whom they scalp and bring home as prisoners. Their senators wink at this, or rather encourage it, as it tends to keep up the martial spirit of the people, enures them to watchfulness and hardships, and gives them an early taste for blood. The qualities of an Indian war are vigilance and attention, and to give and avoid a surprise ; and patience and strength to endure the intolerable fatigues and hardships which always attend it.

They often enter a village, while the strength of the nation is employed in hunting, and massacre all the helpless old men, women, and children, or make prisoners of as many as they can manage, or have strength enough to be useful to their nation. They often cut off small parties of men in their huntings ; but when they discover an army of their enemies, their way is to throw themselves flat on their faces among the withered leaves, the colour of which their bodies are painted exactly to resemble. They generally let a part pass unmolested, and then, rising a little, they take aim, being excellent marksmen, and setting up a tremendous shout, which they call the war-cry, they pour a storm of musket bullets on the enemy, having long since laid aside the use of arrows. The party attacked returns the same cry. Every man in haste retires behind a tree, returns the fire of the adverse party, as soon as they raise themselves from the ground to give the second discharge.

Having fought some time in this manner, the party which thinks it has the advantage rushes out of its cover, with small axes in their hands, which they dart with great address and dexterity. They redouble their cry, intimidate their enemy with menaces, and encourage each other with a boastful display of their own brave actions. Thus, being come hand to hand, the contest is soon decided, and the conquerors satiate their savage fury with the most shocking insults and barbarities to the dead, biting their flesh, tearing their scalps from their heads, and wallowing in their blood, like the wild beasts of the forests.

The fate of their prisoners is indeed miserable. During the greater part of their journey homewards they suffer no injury ; but when they arrive at the territories of the conquering state, or at those of their allies, the people from every village meet them, and think they shew their attachment to their friends by the barbarous treatment of the unhappy victims ; who on their arrival at their destined station, generally bring with them marks of the most cruel and merciless treatment.

The conquerors enter the town in triumph ; the war-captain waits upon the head-men, and in a low voice gives them a circumstantial account of every particular of the expedition, of the damages the enemy has suffered, and his own loss in it. This being done, the public-orator relates the whole to the people. Before



they yield to the joy which the victory occasions, they lament the friends they have lost in the pursuit of it. The parties most nearly concerned are apparently afflicted with a deep and real sorrow; but, by one of those strange turns of the human mind, fashioned to any thing by custom, as if they were disciplined in their grief, upon the signal for rejoicing, in a moment the tears are wiped from their eyes, and they rush into an extravagance and phrenzy of joy for their victory. All this time, the fate of the prisoners remains undecided, until the old men meet, and determine concerning their distribution.

It is usual to offer a slave to each house that has lost a friend, giving the preference according to the greatness of the loss. The person who has taken the captive attends him to the door of the party's cottage, where he delivers him, and with him gives a belt of wampum, to shew that he has fulfilled the purpose of the expedition, in supplying the loss of a citizen. They for some time view the present that is made them, and according as they think him or her, for the sex matters not, proper or improper for the business of the family, or as they take a capricious liking or displeasure to the countenance of the victim, or in proportion to their natural barbarity, or their resentment for their losses, they decide whether they will receive him into the family, or sentence him to death. If they be received into the family, happy is their lot, as they are then accepted into the place of father, son, or husband that is lost; and they have no other mark of their captivity, but that of not being suffered to return to their own country, to attempt which would be certain death. On the contrary, if they dislike the captive, they throw away the belt with indignation. Then it is no longer in the power of any one to save him, the nation is assembled as upon some great solemnity, a scaffold is raised, and the prisoner tied to the stake. He instantly begins his death-song, and prepares for the ensuing scene of cruelty with the most undaunted courage. On the other side, they prepare to put it to the utmost proof, with every torment that the mind of man ingenious in mischief can devise.

It would be too shocking for the ear of our youthful readers to be told what inhuman tortures are inflicted on him, till at last, one of the chiefs, out of compassion, or weary with cruelty, generally puts an end to his life with a club or dagger. The body is then put into a kettle, and this barbarous employment is succeeded by a feast equally inhuman.

On this occasion, the women, forgetting their female nature, and transferring themselves into something worse than furies, act their parts, and even outdo the men in this scene of horror. The principal persons of the country set round the stake smoking, and looking on without the least emotion. What is most extraordinary, the sufferer himself, in the little intervals of his torments, smokes also, appears unconcerned, and converses with his torturers about indifferent matters. Indeed, during the whole time of his execution there seems a contest between him and them, which shall exceed,



they in inflicting the most horrid pains, or he in enduring them with a firmness and constancy almost above human. Not a groan, not a sigh, not a distortion of countenance, escapes him; he possesses his mind entirely in the midst of his torments; he recounts his own exploits, informs them what cruelties he had inflicted upon their countrymen, and threatens them with the revenge that will attend his death; and though his reproaches exasperate them to a perfect state of madness, rage, and fury, he continues his reproaches even of their ignorance in the art of tormenting, pointing out himself more exquisite methods, and more sensible parts of the body to be afflicted.

We do not dwell upon these circumstances of cruelty, which so much degrade human nature, out of choice; but as all, who mention the customs of this people, have very particularly insisted upon their behaviour in this respect, and as it seems necessary, in order to give a true idea of their character, we do not choose wholly to omit it. It serves to shew, in the strongest light, to what an inconceivable degree of barbarity the passions of men let loose will carry them. It will point out to us the advantages of a religion that teaches a compassion to our enemies, which is neither known nor practised in other religions; and it will make us more sensible, than some appear to be, of the value of commerce, the benefits of a civilized life, and the lights derived from literature, which, if they have abated the force of some of the natural virtues by the luxuries which attend them, have taken out likewise the sting of our national vices, and softened the ferocity of the human race, without enervating their courage. On the other hand, the constancy of the sufferers in this trying scene, shews the wonderful powers of an early institution, and a ferocious thirst of glory, which makes men imitate and exceed what philosophy, and even religion, do not produce.

Having thus taken a cursory view of the customs and manners of the original natives of North America, we shall now proceed to give an account of the first settlement of the British colonies, and shew from what small beginnings time has raised them to one immense republic, under the title of the United and Independent States of America. In order to accomplish this matter, we shall give a general history of the late war, which ended in the loss of thirteen British American colonies. The different sieges and battles that took place during that period, we shall describe as copiously as our narrow limits will permit us.

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## CHAP. II.

SEVERAL of the most zealous and eminent protestants, in the reign of Edward VI. opposed the popish ceremonies and habits though likewise united to their brethren in religious tenets:

Hundreds of them fled into foreign parts to avoid persecutions, where they connected themselves with protestants of other nations, who were equally arduous for a reformation.

Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in 1558, the refugees returned to England, loaded with experience and learning, but in the utmost distress and poverty. Those of the clergy, who could comply with the queen's establishment, were quickly preferred; but the rest, after being permitted to preach awhile, were suspended and reduced to their former indigence.

The clergy and laity, who wished for greater ecclesiastical purity, struggled hard for the abolishment of popish ceremonies and habits, or at least, leaving the use of them indifferent in divine service, by which, they obtained nothing but the honourable nick-name of **PURITANS**. Queen Elizabeth had enough of the blood of Henry the Eighth, to make her impatient of any opposition to her will, especially in matters of religion, in which she had an high opinion of her own knowledge; and, during her whole reign, she kept down the puritans with an uniform and inflexible severity. The merits, however, of their sufferings, the affected plainness of their dress, the gravity of their deportment, and the use of scripture phrases on the most ordinary occasions, and even their names, which had in them something striking and venerable, as being borrowed from the Old Testament, gained them a general esteem among sober people or ordinary understandings.

When King James came to the throne, he had a very fair opportunity of pacifying matters, or, at least, he might have left them in the condition he found them. On the contrary, he suffered them to be persecuted, but not destroyed; they were exasperated, and yet left powerful; and the then ministry, like those who lately lost us our colonies, exposed their own weakness, ignorance and baseness, by an ill timed severity.

In this state matters remained, until the accession of Charles the First, when they were far from being mended. This prince, endowed with some virtues, had very few amiable qualities. As grave as the puritans themselves, he could never engage the licentious part of the world in his favour; and that gravity being turned against the puritans, made him more odious to them. He gave himself up entirely to the church and churchmen, and he finished his ill-conduct, in this respect, by conferring the first ecclesiastical dignity of the kingdom, and a great sway in temporal affairs upon Dr. Laud, who, hardly fit to direct a college, was entrusted with the government of an empire.

The puritans considered the most dreary realms, and the most unfrequented regions, where they could enjoy liberty of conscience, as superior to the most splendid palaces, where they were to be governed by Laud. In consequence of these disaffections, a little colony sailed from England, and established itself at a place called New Plymouth, on the continent of America. This happened in 1620.

They were but few in number, they landed in a bad season, and were supplied only from their private funds. The winter was pre-



mature, and extremely cold. The country was every where covered with wood, and afforded very little for the refreshment of persons sickly with such a voyage, or even for the sustenance of an infant people. Nearly half of them perished by the scurvy, by want, and the severity of the climate ; but those who survived, not dispirited with their losses, nor with the hardships they were still to endure, supported by the vigour which was then the character of Englishmen, and by the satisfaction of finding themselves out of the reach of the spiritual arm, were enabled to procure in this savage country a tolerable livelihood, and by degrees a comfortable subsistence for themselves and their families.

The people of New Plymouth, having cleared the way for other sufferers to settle in America, with less difficulty and danger than what they had experienced ; the fame of their plantation spreading through the western part of England, and the government in church and state growing every day more oppressive, the territory of the Massachusetts Bay was purchased of the Plymouth council, in 1628, and a company soon formed, who consulted on settling a plantation, to which non-conforming puritans might emigrate in order to enjoy their own principles in full security.

In 1630, a large company arrived at Salem, consisting of more than fifteen hundred persons, from different counties in England. From the beginning of the colony, until the emigration ceased, in 1640, through a change of affairs in England, there arrived, in 298 vessels, about 21,200 settlers, men, women, and children, or four thousand families.

They did not, however, all confine themselves to this colony : several families removed to Connecticut River, by mutual agreement with their fellow emigrants, who remained behind. Plantations were formed at Hartford, Windsor, and Weathersfield. The inhabitants being soon after fully satisfied, that they were out of the Massachusetts limits, and of course its jurisdiction, entered into a combination among themselves, became a body politic, without restraining the freedom of their civil government to the membership of their churches, and proceeded to the choice of magistrates and representatives.

Two large ships arrived at Massachusetts Bay, in 1637, with passengers from London. Great pains were taken to prevail upon them to remain in the colony ; but they hoped, by removing to a considerable distance, to be out of the reach of a general governor, with whom the country was then threatened. They sent to their friends in Connecticut to purchase of the natives the lands lying between them and Hudson's River. They then laid the foundation of a flourishing colony, of which New Haven was the capital. Connecticut and New Haven continued two distinct colonies for many years. At length, the general court of Connecticut determined to prefer an address and petition to Charles the Second, professing their subjection and loyalty to his majesty, and soliciting a royal charter ; and John Winthrop, Esq. who had been chosen governor, was appointed to negotiate the affair with the king. He



succeeded, and a royal charter was obtained, constituting the two colonies for ever one body corporate and politic.

Mr. Roger Williams, a pastor of the church of Salem, being banished from Massachusetts, on account of some religious disputes, went to the Narraganset country, accompanied with twelve companions, and had land given him by the Indian Sachem Canonikus; of whom he afterwards purchased the large tract, lying between Pawtucket and Pawturat rivers, (the great falls and the little falls, as the Indian name signifies) and styled it *Providence*, from a sense of God's merciful providence to him in his distress.

The authority and power of Miantonomy, another sachem, and his uncle Canonikus, awed all the Indians round to assist him and his few associates. When the determinations of the Massachusetts general court, occasioned by what they called antinomian disputes, banished many, and induced others to leave the colony, the heads of the party were entertained in a friendly manner by Mr. Williams, who advised them to seek a settlement on Rhode Island, in the year 1638, and was very instrumental in procuring it of the Indian sachems.

New Hampshire and Maine were settled about the same time with Massachusetts, by different proprietors, who had obtained patents, and whose views were to enrich themselves by the fishing trade at sea, and the beaver trade ashore.

The colony of New York demands our next attention. The Dutch had settled it, and named it the New Netherlands. Charles the Second resolved upon its conquest in 1664: and in March granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the region extending from the western bank of the Connecticut to the eastern shore of the Delaware, together with Long Island, conferring on him the civil and military powers of government. Col. Nichols was sent with four frigates and three hundred soldiers, to effect the business. The Dutch governor being unable to make resistance, the New Netherlands submitted to the English crown, in September, without any other change than of rulers. Few of the Dutch removed, and Nichols instantly entered upon the exercise of his power, as deputy-governor for the Duke of York, the proprietary.

About the same time, 1664, New Jersey, which was also taken from the Dutch, who were considered as having no right to any of their settlements in these parts of America, were included in the grant to the Duke of York. The Duke disposed of it to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, who, being sole proprietors, for the better settlement of it, agreed upon certain constitutions of government, so well liked, that the eastern parts were soon considerably peopled.

Virginia was the original name of all the English North American continental claims, given in honour to the virgin Queen Elizabeth King James, being applied to, granted letters patent to a body of Gentlemen, on the 6th of April, 1606, with powers to divide themselves into two distinct companies, the one consisting of

London a dventurers, called the first, or southern colony of Virginia; the second, or northern colony, composed of merchants, belonging to Bristol, Plymouth, and Exeter. The territory granted to the first, or southern colony, was generally called *Virginia*, without any distinguishing epithet, and retained that name after the second, or northern colony, obtained the name of New England in 1614.

We come next to speak of Maryland. The first emigration to this part of America consisted of two hundred Gentlemen of considerable fortune and rank, with their adherents, chiefly Roman Catholics, who hoped to enjoy liberty of conscience under a proprietary of their own profession. They sailed from England in November, and landed in Maryland the beginning of 1633. Gov. Calvert, brother to Lord Baltimore, very wisely and justly purchased by presents of various goods, the rights of the Indians, and with their free consent took possession of their town, which he called St. Mary's. The country was settled with so much ease, and furnished with so many conveniences, that emigrants repaired thither in such numbers as soon to render the colony populous and flourishing.

Carolina follows Maryland in the order of existence. A few adventurers emigrated from Massachusetts, and settled round Cape Fear, about the time of the Restoration. They considered mere occupancy, with a transfer from the natives, without any grant from the king, as a good title to the lands they possessed. They deemed themselves entitled to the same civil privileges as those of the country from whence they had emigrated. For years they experienced the complicated miseries of want. They solicited the aid of their countrymen, and the general court of Massachusetts, with an intention and humanity which did it the greatest honour, ordered an extensive contribution for their relief.

The final settlement of the province was effected equally through the rapacity of the courtiers of Charles the Second, and his own facility in rewarding those, to whom he was greatly indebted, with a liberality that cost him little. The pretence, which had been used on former occasions, of a pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians, was successively employed to procure a grant of the immense region, lying between the 36th degree of North latitude, and the river of St. Matheo, under the 31st degree. In March 1663, this territory was erected into a province by the name of *Carolina*, and conferred on Lord Clarendon, the Duke of Albermarle, Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley, as absolute lord proprietaries, for ever, saving the allegiance due to the crown.

Pennsylvania and the Delaware counties next demand our attention. Mr. William Penn, one of the joint purchasers of the western part of the Jerseys, having received the most exact information of the country to the westward of the Delaware, while engaged in the administration of the joint purchase, became desirous of acquiring a separate estate.



He presented a petition to Charles the Second in June, 1680, stating not only his relationship to the late admiral, but that he was deprived of a debt due from the crown, when the Exchequer was shut. He prayed for a grant of lands, lying to the northward of Maryland, and westward of the Delaware; and added, that by his interest, he should be able to settle a province, which might in time, repay his claims. Having a prospect of success, he copied from the charter of Maryland, the sketch of a patent, which in November was laid before the attorney-general for his opinion.

Penn had the same object in view as Lord Baltimore had, the guarding against the exertions of prerogative, which experience had taught both were very inconvenient. The attorney-general declared the cause of exemption from taxation illegal; and chief justice North being of the same opinion, and observing its tendency, added the saving of the authority of the English parliament; so that it was stipulated by the king, for himself and his successors, that "no custom or other contribution shall be laid on the inhabitants or their estates, unless by the consent of the proprietary, or governor and assembly, or by act of parliament in England."

The next year, 1681, the patent was granted, in consideration of "the merits of the father, and the good purposes of the son, in order to extend the English Empire, and to promote useful commodities." It was provided by fit clauses, that the sovereignty of the king should be preserved, and that acts of parliament, concerning trade, navigation, and the customs be duly observed. Penn was empowered to assemble the freemen, or their delegates, in such a form as he should think proper for raising money for the use of the colony, and for making useful laws, not contrary to those of England, or the rights of the kingdom. A duplicate of the acts of the assembly was to be transmitted within five years, to the king in council, and the acts might be declared void withing six months, if not approved.

It now remains only to give a concise account of the settlement of Georgia.

In 1732, a number of Gentlemen considering the vast benefit that might arise from the tract of land, lying between the Savannah and the river Alatomaha, petitioned the king for a charter, which was accordingly granted in June. They meant, that the country should be made a bulwark for the southern colonies against the Spaniards, and should give employment to numbers of people, who were burthensome at home to their friends and parishes.

Towards the end of August, Sir Gilbert Heathcote recommended in the strongest terms, to the directors of the Bank, the interest of the colony. His speech had the desired effect, and the members of the court, after his example, contributed largely towards the undertaking, as did great numbers of the nobility, gentry, clergy and others; and the parliament granted 10,000*l*. By the beginning of November, about one hundred and sixteen colonists presented themselves, most of them labouring people, and were furnished with working tools of all kinds, stores, and small arms.



Mr. Oglethorpe, one of the trustees, generously attended the first set of emigrants to Carolina, where they arrived in good health in January, 1733. The Carolians made them a present of one hundred breeding cattle, besides hogs and twenty barrels of rice; and furnished them with a party of horse, and with scout boats, by the help of which they reached the Savannah, where Mr. Oglethorpe, ten miles up the river, pitched upon a spot for a town, and in February the building of the first house commenced.

Mr. Oglethorpe was waited upon by a numerous deputation from the Lower Creek nation, with whom he concluded a treaty, and soon after set out for Charleston on his return to England, bringing with him several chiefs and a war captain. Before the end of March, 1734, more emigrants, to the amount of six hundred, were either sent over by charity, or went at their own expense.

In October, the Indians embarked for their own country, having had an allowance, while in London, of twenty pounds a week, of which they spent little, as they commonly ate and drank at the table of persons of the highest distinction. They embarked at Gravesend, in a ship which carried over a number of Saltz-burgers, being German protestants, who, with others of their countrymen that followed, settled on the Savannah, a town they called Ebenezer, and which, by their habits of industry and sobriety, soon became considerable.

The Georgians made a surprising progress in clearing their lands, and building their houses; and, as an encouragement, the British Parliament granted them a supply of 26,000*l.* which, with very great private donations, were expended upon strengthening the southern part of Georgia.

Thus have we given a succinct account of the first establishment of the British colonies in North America. By what unhappy means they at last became separated from the mother country, will be clearly shewn in the subsequent part of this history.

#### MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

- 1606 *First settlement made at Virginia.*
- 1620 *Settlement at New Plymouth.*
- 1628 *New Hampshire and Maine settled.*
- 1628 *Puritans purchase and settle Massachusetts Bay.*
- 1633 *Settlement at Maryland.*
- 1635 *Connecticut and Providence settled.*
- 1637 *New Haven settled.*
- 1638 *Settlement of Rhode Island.*
- 1663 *Carolina settled.*
- 1664 *New York and New Jersey settled.*
- 1681 *Pennsylvania and Delaware counties settled.*
- 1733 *Georgia settled.*

## CHAP. III.

THE narrow limits prescribed to us in this epitome, will not permit us to enter into a copious detail of all the minute concerns of the colonies, which may be found in more voluminous works, and there read by those, who have leisure and inclination to pursue so dry a study. We shall therefore proceed to describe only events of some consequence.

News being received in Massachusetts of war being declared against France and Spain, the general court, then sitting, made immediate provision for raising forces for Annapolis in Nova Scotia.

Towards the end of the month of April, 1745, Commodore Warren arrived from the West Indies, with a sixty-gun ship, and two of forty. He was soon after joined by another of forty, which had reached Canso a short time before. The men of war sailed immediately to cruise before Louisbourg. The forces soon followed, and landed at Chapeaurouge Bay the last day of April. The transports were discovered from the town early in the morning, which gave the inhabitants the first knowledge of the design.

The second day after landing, four hundred men marched round, behind the hills, to the northeast harbour, where they got about midnight, and set fire to all the dwellings and storehouses, till they came within a mile of the grand battery. The clouds of thick smoke, proceeding from the pitch, tar, and other combustibles, prevented the garrison's discovering the enemy, though they were but at a short distance.

They expected the body of the army upon them, and therefore deserted the fort, having thrown their powder into a well: but the cannon and shot were left, which proved of great service to the besiegers. The army had near two miles to transport their cannon, mortars, &c. through a morass, which required great labour to accomplish. The men were yoked together, and, during the night, made great advances.

While the forces were busily employed on shore, the men of war, and other vessels were cruising off the harbour, as often as the weather would permit. On the 18th of May, they captured a French sixty-four gun ship, having five hundred and sixty men on board, and stores of all sorts for the garrison.

It was given out, that an attack would be made by sea with the ships, on the eighteenth, while the army did the like by land. Whether a general storm was really intended or not, the French appeared to expect it, from the preparations making on board the men of war, and seemed not inclined to attempt to withstand it.

On the fifteenth, a flag of truce was sent to the general, desiring a cessation of hostilities, that they might consider of articles for a capitulation. Time was allowed, but their articles were rejected by the general and commodore, and others offered, which were



accepted by the French, and hostages given on both sides. The town was in consequence delivered up on the seventeenth. As this was a time, when vessels were expected from all parts at Louisbourg, the French flag was kept flying as a decoy. Two East-Indiamen, and one South-sea ship, of the value of 600,000*l.* sterling, were taken by the squadron, at the mouth of the harbour, into which they sailed as usual, not knowing that the place had been taken by the English.

The French having been very troublesome in the back settlements of our colonies, it was concluded to take effectual methods to drive them from the Ohio. The reduction of Niagara, Crown Point, and their forts in Nova Scotia, were also resolved on. General Braddeck was accordingly sent from Ireland to Virginia, with two regiments of foot; and on his arrival, when joined by the rest of the forces destined for that service, he found himself at the head of 2,200 men. He had bravery, but wanted other qualifications to render him fit for the service to which he was appointed. The severity of his discipline made him unpopular among the regulars, and his haughtiness deprived him of the esteem of the Americans. His pride disgusted the Indians, and led him to despise the country militia, and to slight the advice of the Virginian officers.

Colonel Washington earnestly begged of him, when the army was marching to fort Du Quesne, to admit of his going before, and scouring the woods with his rangers, which was contemptuously refused. The general had been cautioned by the Duke of Cumberland to guard against a surprise, and yet he pushed on heedlessly with the first division, consisting of 1400 men, till he fell into an ambuscade of 400, chiefly Indians, by whom he was defeated and mortally wounded, on the ninth of July, 1755.

The regulars were put to the greatest panic, and fled in the utmost confusion; but the militia had been used to Indian fighting, and were not so terrified. The general had disdainfully turned them into the rear, where they continued in a body unbroken, and served under Colonel Washington as a most useful rear-guard, which covered the retreat of the regulars, and prevented their being entirely cut to pieces.

Previous to this, and agreeable to the views of the British ministry, the Massachusetts assembly raised a body of troops, which were sent to Nova Scotia, to assist Lieutenant Governor Lawrence in driving the French from their several encroachments within that province.

The expedition against Niagara was entrusted to Governor Shirley, but failed through various causes.

Sir William, then Colonel, Johnson, was appointed to go against Crown Point. The delays, slowness, and deficiency of preparation, prevented the several colonies joining their troops till about August. In the mean time, the active enemy had transported forces from France to Canada, marched them down to meet the provincials, and attacked them; but, meeting with a repulse, lost six hundred men, besides having their general Baron Dieskau wounded and made prisoner.



The next year Massachusetts raised a great armament to go against Crown Point ; but Lord Loudon, on his arrival, did not think it proper that the forces should proceed, owing to a temporary misunderstanding between his Lordship and the general court.

In the year 1758, happily for the British nation, the great Mr. Pitt was placed at the head of the ministry, when the face of affairs was soon changed, the war was prosecuted with unexampled success, and the enemy was at length driven out of America.

Mr. Israel Mauduit, the Massachusetts agent, in 1763, gave early notice of the ministerial intentions to tax the colonies ; but the general court not being called together till the latter end of the year, instructions to the agent, though solicited by him, could not be sent in proper time.

The next year however, 1764, the house of representatives came to the following resolutions : “ That the sole right of giving and granting the money of the people of that province, was vested in them as their legal representatives ; and that the imposition of duties and taxes by the parliament of Great Britain, upon a people who are not represented in the House of Commons, is absolutely irreconcilable with their rights.” — “ That no man can justly take the property of another without his consent ; upon which original principle, the right of representation in the same body, which exercises the power of making laws for levying taxes, one of the main pillars of the British constitution is evidently founded.”

These resolutions were occasioned by intelligence of what had been done in the British House of Commons. It had been there debated in March, whether they had a *right* to tax the Americans, they not being represented, and determined unanimously in the affirmative. Not a single person present ventured to controvert the *right*.

After various propositions for taxing the colonies, Mr. Grenville's intended stamp act was communicated to the American agents. Many of them did not oppose it, half their number being placemen or dependents on the ministry. Mr. Joseph Sherwood, an honest Quaker, agent for Rhode Island, refused his consent to America's being taxed by a British parliament. Mr. Mauduit, the Massachusetts agent, favoured the raising of the wanted money by a stamp duty, as it would occasion less expense of officers, and would include the West India islands. The scheme, however, was postponed, and the agents authorised to inform the American assemblies, that they were at liberty to suggest any other ways of raising monies, and that Mr. Grenville was ready to receive proposals for any other tax that might be equivalent in its produce to the stamp-tax. The colonies seemed to consider it as an affront, rather than as a compliment. The minister would not be content with any thing short of a certain specific sum, and proper funds for the payment of it. Had not the sums been answerable to his wishes, he would have rejected them ; and he would scarcely have been satisfied with less than 300,000*l.* per annum, which was judged absolutely necessary to defray the whole expense of the army proposed for the defence of America.

No satisfactory proposals being made on the side of the Americans, Mr Grenville adhered to his purpose of bringing forward the stamp-bill, though repeatedly pressed by some of his friends to desist. Richard Jackson, esq. had been chosen agent for the Massachusetts, who, with Mr. Franklin, and others, lately come from Philadelphia, waited on Mr. Grenville, in February, 1765, to remonstrate against the stamp-bill, and to propose, that, in case any tax must be laid upon America, the several colonies might be permitted to lay the tax themselves. Mr. Grenville, however, adhered to his own opinions, and said, that he had pledged his word for offering the stamp-bill to the house, and that the house would hear their objections.

The bill was accordingly brought in, and in March, the same year, received the royal assent. The framers of the stamp-act flattered themselves, that the confusion which would arise from the disuse of writings, would compel the colonies to use stamp-paper, and therefore to pay the taxes imposed. Thus they were led to pronounce it a law which would execute itself.

Mr. Grenville, however, was not without his apprehensions, that it might occasion disorders; to prevent or suppress which, he projected another bill, which was brought in the same sessions, whereby it was made lawful for military officers in the colonies to quarter their soldiers in private houses. This seemed intended to awe the people into a compliance with the other act. Great opposition being made to it, as under such a power in the army, no one could look on his house as his own, that part of the bill was dropt; but there still remained a clause, when it passed into a law, to oblige the several assemblies to provide quarters for the soldiers, and to furnish them with firing, bedding, candles, small beer, rum, and sundry other articles, at the expense of the several provinces. This clause continued in force after the stamp-act was repealed.

These proceedings of the mother country gave rise to great disturbances in America. Some persons of consequence at Boston, to manifest their abhorrence and detestation of a party in England, who they supposed were endeavouring to subvert the British constitution, to enslave the colonies, and to alienate the affections of his majesty's most faithful subjects in America, early in the morning of the 14th of August, hung upon the limb of a large dead elm, near the entrance of Boston, in one of the most public streets, two effigies. One of them, as appeared by the labels affixed thereto, was intended to represent the stamp-officer; the other was a jack-boot, with a head and horns peeping out of the top.

The report of this novelty drew great numbers from every part of the town and neighbouring country. This affair was left to take its own course, so that an enthusiastic spirit diffused itself into the minds of the spectators. In the evening, the figures were cut down, and carried in funeral procession, the populace shouting, *Liberty and property forever! No stamps, &c.*



They then went to a new building, erected by Mr. Oliver, which they pulled down, falsely supposing it to be designed for the stamp office. As soon as they approached Mr. Oliver's house, they beheaded the effigy, at the same time breaking all his windows, and demolished his gardens, fences, barns, and every thing else that came in their way.

The next day, Mr. Oliver, fearful of what might happen, declared that he had written to England and resigned. The mob assembled again at night; and, after some expressions of joy for the resignation, proceeded to the lieutenant governor's, Mr. Hutchinson's house, which they besieged for an hour, but in vain; insisting repeatedly upon knowing, whether he had not written in favour of the stamp-act.

These disorders grew every day more enormous and alarming. Mobs once raised, soon became ungovernable by new and large accessions, and extend their intentions far beyond those of the original instigators. Crafty men may intermix with them, when they are much heated, and direct their operations very differently from what was at first designed.

People in England were differently affected by the disturbances in the colonies. Some were for supporting the authority of parliament at all events, and for enforcing the stamp-act, if needful, with the point of the sword; while others were for quieting the colonies by the repeal of it. Happily for them, Mr. Grenville and his party were thrown out of place, and were succeeded by the Marquis of Rockingham, when, on 22d of February, 1766, this obnoxious act was repealed.

In May, 1767, Mr. Charles Townsend, then chancellor of the Exchequer, moved the House of Commons for leave to bring in bills for granting a duty upon paper, glass, painter's colours, &c. in the British American Colonies; for settling salaries on the governors, judges, &c. in North America; and for taking off the duties on teas exported to America, and granting a duty of three pence a pound on the importation in America. Two bills were at length framed, and in June and July received the royal assent.

These acts occasioned fresh disturbances in America, where matters were carried to a greater height than before. In consequence of this, Lord Hillsborough wrote to General Gage, in June, 1768, to send troops to Boston, in order to preserve the peace of that town.

The introduction of troops into Boston was attended with very serious consequences. The inhabitants became exceedingly riotous, and some of the rabble pushed their ill conduct so far, as to oblige the soldiers to fire on them in their own defence. This happened on the 5th of March, 1770, when three persons were killed, five dangerously wounded, and a few slightly.

This was far from removing the evil, and only tended to widen the breach. Under the notion of zeal for liberty, the rabble ran into the most excessive licentiousness, and were every where guilty of



the most lawless, unjust, and tyrannical proceedings, pulling down houses, destroying the property of every one that had fallen under their displeasure, and delivering prisoners out of the hands of justice.

Let us now turn our attention to see what was doing in the mean time, at home. The supporting the authority of parliament was the only cause assigned by the minister himself for retaining the tea-duty, at the very time when he acknowledged it to be as anti-commercial a tax as any of those that had been repealed upon that principle.

The East-India company, feeling the bad effects of the colonial smuggling trade, in the large quantities of tea, which remained in their warehouses unsold, requested the repeal of the three-pence per pound in America, and offered that, on its being complied with government should retain six-pence in the pound on the exportation. Thus the company presented the happiest opportunity that could have been offered for honourably removing the cause of difference with America. This afforded an opening for doing justice, without infringing the claims on either side. The minister was requested and entreated, by a gentleman of great weight in the company, and a member of parliament, to embrace the opportunity; but it was obstinately rejected.

New contrivances were set on foot to introduce the tea, attended with the three-penny duty, into all the colonies. Various intrigues and solicitations were used to induce the East-India company to undertake this rash and foolish business. It was protested against as contrary to the principle of the company's monopoly; but the power of the ministry prevailed, and the insignificant three-penny duty on tea was doomed to be the fatal bone of contention between Great Britain and her colonies. The company at least adopted the system, and became their own factors. They sent 600 chests of tea to Philadelphia, the like quantity to New York and Boston, besides what was consigned to other places. Several ships were also freighted for different colonies, and agents appointed for the disposal of the commodity.

In the mean time, the colonists, who well knew what had passed in the mother country, were concerting measures to counteract the views of the British ministry. Soon after the arrival of the tea-ships at Boston, a number of persons, chiefly masters of vessels and ship-builders from the north end of the town, about seventeen in number, dressed as Indians, went on board the ships, and in about two hours hoisted out of them, and broke open 342 chests of tea, the contents of which they emptied into the sea. They were not in the least molested; for the multitude of spectators on the wharf served as a covering party. The whole business was conducted with very little tumult, and no damage was done to the vessels or any other property. When the business was finished, the people returned quietly to their own towns and habitations.

These and other decisive proceedings of the Bostonians induced the British ministry to bring a bill into parliament, "for the im-

mediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection of the customs at Boston, and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading and shipping of goods, wares and merchandises, at Boston, or within the harbour thereof." On the 31st of March, 1774, the bill received the royal assent.

Other bills were passed by the British parliament, brought in by Lord North, all tending to punish the Americans, and the Bostonians in particular, for their refractory behaviour. Petitions were sent over from America, and several of the members of both houses reprobated these severe and dangerous proceedings; but no regard was paid either to the petitions, or to the remonstrances of the minority in both houses. The then ministry, at the head of which was Lord North, were determined to accept from the Americans of nothing short of absolute and implicit obedience to the laws of taxation. On the other hand, the people of Massachusetts Bay, supported and spurred on by the other colonies, were determined not to submit, and prepared to repel force by force. They collected all the arms they could, and spent much of their time in the exercise of them.

These proceedings of the people, and their manifest disposition to resistance, alarmed the general, who thought it necessary, for the safety of the troops, as well as to secure the important post of Boston, to fortify the entrance at the neck, which afforded the only communication, except by water, between the town and the continent.

In England, petitions were presented from the merchants of London, and almost all the trading towns in the kingdom; and Mr. Bolland, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Lee, also presented petitions from the American congress; but government treated them with indifference and contempt.

Lord Chatham persevered in the prosecution of his conciliatory scheme with America, and accordingly brought into the house of lords the outlines of a bill, which he hoped would answer that salutary purpose; but the ministry rejected it. At the same time, Lord North gave a sketch of the measures he intended to pursue, which were to send a greater force to America, and to bring in a temporary act to put a stop to all the foreign trade of the different colonies of New-England, particularly their fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, till they returned to their duty.

While matters were thus going on at home, Gen. Gage, at Boston, received intelligence that cannon and carriages were deposited in the neighbourhood of Salem. He accordingly sent a body of troops from the castle to seize them; but the Americans found time to get them away, and the troops returned without effecting any thing.

A skirmish having happened at Lexington, between the King's troops and a party of the militia, gen. Gage no sooner received this intelligence, than he detached lord Percy to Concord, with sixteen companies of foot, and a number of marines, 900 men in the whole, and two pieces of cannon, to support col. Smith.

The junction of the brigade under lord Percy, with the detachment under col. Smith, gave the last a breathing time, especially as they now had cannon, which awed the provincials from pressing upon the rear in a direct line ; but the whole force did not venture to halt long, as the minute men and militia were every where collecting, in order to cut off their retreat to Boston. They soon renewed their march, constant skirmishing succeeded, and a continual fire, though often irregular and scattering on their side, as well as on the part of the provincials. The close firing from behind the walls, by good marksmen, for such were almost all the provincials, put the troops into no small confusion, and made it so dangerous for the officers, that they were more attentive to their safety than common. The regulars, when near Cambridge, were upon the point of taking a wrong road, which would have led them into the most imminent danger ; but were prevented by the direction of a young gentleman residing at college. They made good their retreat a little after sunset over Charlestown neck to Bunker's hill, but spent and worn down by the excessive fatigues they had undergone, having marched that day between thirty and forty miles. Here they remained secure till the next day, when they crossed at Charlestown ferry and returned to Boston. In this skirmish, the regulars had 65 killed, 180 wounded, and 28 made prisoners. The provincials had 50 men killed, thirty four wounded, and four missing.

Let us now return to the mother country, where the restraining and fishery bill met with great opposition in both houses of parliament. The fishery bill had scarcely cleared the house of commons, when lord North brought in another, to restrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West-indies, under certain conditions and limitations.

The British ministry did not confine themselves to the making of laws ; they also sent out against the Americans generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, who left England on the 28th of May ; and in about a week afterwards, transports laden with troops sailed from Cork, to reinforce gen. Gage.

#### MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

- 1745 *Expedition of Louisbourg.*
- 1755 *General Braddock defeated.*
- 1764 *Massachusetts assembly declare against parliamentary taxes.*
- 1765 *The stamp-act passed—Riots at Boston on account of that act.*
- 1766 *The stamp-act repealed.*
- 1767 *Mr. Charles Townsend taxes the colonies again,*
- 1768 *Troops ordered to Boston.*



- 1770 *Soldiers at Boton fire on the inhabitants.*  
 1773 *The East-India company empowered to export their own teas. The tea thrown into the sea at Boston.*  
 1774 *The Massachusetts people prepare to defend their rights by arms. General Gage fortifies the entrance into Boston.*  
 1775 *Gen. Gage sends troops to Salem. Skirmishes at Concord and Lexington. The restraining bills passed in England. The generals Howe, Clinton and Bourgoyne, sail for Boston.*

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#### CHAP. IV.

THE necessity of securing Ticonderoga was early attended to by many in New-England. Gen. Gage had set the example of attempting to seize upon military stores, and by so doing had commenced hostilities, so that retaliation appeared warrantable.

Col. Allen was at Castleton, with about 270 men; 230 of which were *Green Mountain Boys*, so called from their residing within the limits of the Green Mountains, the Hampshire grants being so denominated from the range of green mountains that run through them. Sentinels were placed immediately on all the roads, to prevent any intelligence being carried to Ticonderoga.

Col. Arnold, who now joined col. Allen, reported, that there were at Ticonderoga, 80 pieces of heavy cannon, 20 of brass, from four to eighteen pounders, ten or a dozen mortars, a number of small arms, and considerable stores; that the fort was in a ruinous condition, and, as he supposed, garrisoned by about forty men. It was then settled, that col. Allen should have the supreme command, and col. Arnold was to be his assistant.

Col. Allen, with his 230 Green Mountain Boys, arrived at Lake Champlain, opposite to Ticonderoga, on the ninth of May, at night. Boats were with difficulty procured, when he and col. Arnold crossed over with 83 men, and landed near the garrison. The two colonels advanced along side each other, and entered the port, leading to the fort, in the grey of the morning. A sentry snapped his fusée at col. Allen, and then retreated through the covered way to the parade. The main body of the Americans then followed, and drew up. Capt. de la Place, the commander, was surprised in bed. Thus was the place taken without any bloodshed.

On the 15th of June 1775, the congress proceeded to choose by ballot a general to command all the continental forces, and George Washington Esq. was unanimously elected.

The next day, orders were issued by the Americans, for a detachment of a thousand men, to march at evening, and entrench upon Bunker's Hill. By some mistake, Breed's hill, high and large like the other, but situated on the furthest part of the peninsula, next to Boston, was marked out for the entrenchment instead of Bunker's. The provincials proceeded therefore to Breed's hill,

but were prevented going to work till near twelve o'clock at night, when they pursued their business with the utmost diligence and alacrity; so that, by the dawn of the day, they had thrown up a small redoubt, about eight rods square. Such was the extraordinary silence that reigned among them, that they were not heard by the British on board their vessels in the neighbouring waters. The sight of the works was the first notice that the Lively man of war had of them, when the captain began firing upon them about four in the morning.

The guns called the town of Boston, the camp, and the fleet, to behold a novelty, which was little expected. The prospect obliged the British generals to alter the plan they intended to have pursued the next day. They grew weary of being cooped up in Boston, and had resolved upon making themselves masters of Dorchester heights; but the present provincial movement prevented the expedition. They were now called to attempt possessing themselves of Breed's hill, on which the provincials continued working, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the enemy's ships, a number of floating batteries, and a fortification upon Cop's hill in Boston, directly opposite to the little American redoubt. An incessant shower of shot and bombs was poured by the batteries upon the American works, and yet but one man was killed.

The Americans continued labouring indefatigably till they had thrown up a small breast-work, extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill; but they were prevented completing it from the intolerable fire of the enemy. By some unaccountable error, the detachment, which had been working for hours was neither relieved, nor supplied with refreshments, but were left to engage under these disadvantages.

Between twelve and one o'clock, and the day exceedingly hot, a number of boats and barges, filled with regular troops from Boston, approached Charlestown, when the men were landed at Moreton's point. They consisted of four battalions, two companies of grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, with a proportion of field artillery; but, by some oversight, their spare cartridges were much too big for them: so that, when the Americans were at length forced from their lines, there was not a round of artillery cartridges remaining.

Major gen. Howe and brigadier gen. Pigot had the command. The troops formed, and remained in that position, till joined by a second detachment of light infantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of the land forces, and a battalion of marines, amounting in the whole to about 3000 men. The generals Clinton and Burgoyne took their stand upon Cop's hill, to observe and contemplate the bloody and destructive operations that were now commencing. The regulars formed in two lines, and advanced deliberately frequently halting to give time for the artillery to fire, which was not well served. The light infantry were directed to force the left point of the breast-work, and to take the American line in flank. The grenadiers advanced to attack in front, supported by two bat-

talions, while the left, under gen. Pigot, inclined to the right of the American line. One or two of the continental regiments had been posted in Charlestown, but afterwards removed, to prevent their being cut off by a sudden attack ; so that the British were not in the least hurt by the musquetry from thence.

Gen. Gage had for some time resolved upon burning the town, whenever any works were raised by the Americans upon the hills belonging to it : and while the British were advancing nearer to the attack, orders came to Cop's hill for executing the resolution. Soon after a carcass was discharged, which set fire to an old house near the ferry way ; the fire instantly spread, and most of the place was soon in flames ; while the houses at the eastern end of Charlestown were set on fire by men who landed from the boats.

The regulars derived no advantage from the smoke of the conflagration, for the wind suddenly shifting, carried it another way, so that it could not cover them in their approach. The provincials had not a rifleman among them, not one being yet arrived from the southward : nor had they any other guns than common muskets, and even those were not furnished with bayonets. However, they were almost all marksmen, being accustomed to sporting of one kind or other from their youth. A number of Massachusetts people were in the redoubt, and the part of the breast-work nearest it. The left of the breast work, and the open ground stretching beyond its point to the water side, through which there was not an opportunity of carrying the work, was occupied partly by the Massachusetts forces, and partly by the people of Connecticut.

The British moved on slowly to the attack, instead of using a quick step ; which gave the provincials the advantage of taking surer and cooler aim. These reserved their fire, till the regulars came within ten or twelve rods, when they began a furious discharge of small arms, which stopped the regulars, who kept up the firing without advancing. The discharge from the Americans was so incessant, and did such execution, that the regulars retreated in disorder, and with great precipitation towards the place of landing. Their officers used every effort to make them return to the charge, with which they at length complied ; but the Americans again reserved their fire till the regulars came within five or six rods, when the enemy was a second time put to flight.

Gen. Howe and the officers redoubled their exertions ; and gen. Clinton, perceiving how the army was staggered, passed over without waiting for orders, and joined them in time to be of service. The Americans being in want of powder, sent for a supply, but could procure none ; for there was but a barrel and a half in the magazine. This deficiency disabled them from making the same defence as before ; while the British reaped a further advantage by bringing some cannon to bear, so as to rake the inside of the breast-work from end to end. The regular army now made a decisive push, and the fire from the ships and batteries was redoubled. The provincials were of necessity ordered to retreat.



It was feared by the Americans, that the British troops would push the advantage they had gained, and march immediately to the head quarters at Cambridge, about two miles distant, and in no state of defence. But they advanced no farther than to Bunker's hill, where they threw up works for their own security. The provincials did the same upon Prospect hill, in front of them, about half way to Cambridge.

The loss of the British, according to Gen. Gage, amounted to 1054, of whom 226 were killed; of these 19 were commissioned officers, including a lieutenant colonel, two majors, and seven captains. Seventy other officers were wounded. Among those more generally regretted, were lieutenant colonel Abercromby, and major Pitcairn.

The provincials had 139 killed, 278 wounded, and 36 were missing, in all 453.

In the opinion of many, General Howe was chargeable with a capital error in landing and attacking as he did. It might originate from too great a confidence in the forces he commanded, and in too contemptuous an opinion of the enemy he had to encounter. He certainly might have entrapped the provincials, by landing on the narrowest part of Charlestown neck, under the fire of the floating batteries and ships of war. Here he might have stationed and fortified his army, and kept up an open communication with Boston by a water-carriage, which he would have commanded through the aid of the navy, on each side of the peninsula. Had he made this manœuvre, the provincials must have made a rapid retreat from Breed's-hill, to escape having his troops in their rear, and being inclosed. It was said, that General Clinton proposed it. The rejection of that proposal greatly weakened the British army, and probably prevented the ruin of the Americans.

In July, the congress received a letter from the convention of Georgia, setting forth, that the colony had acceded to the general association, and appointed delegates to attend the congress.

The accession of Georgia to the colonies occasioned their being afterwards called *The Thirteen United Colonies*. The first hostilities that happened in this part between the opposite parties, commenced about the middle of November, when a number of royalists attacked the Americans, and obliged them, after three days, to surrender a fort they had taken possession of, in which they expected to make an effectual resistance.

In the month of November, the New York convention having resolved upon the removal of the cannon from the battery of the city, Captain Sears was appointed to the business. Captain Vandeput, of the *Asia* man of war, was privately informed of the design, and prepared to oppose its execution. Learning when it was to be attempted, he appointed a boat to watch the motion of the people assembled for the purpose about the dead of night. The sailors in the boat giving the signal, with a flash of powder, of what was going forwards, the persons on shore mistook it for an attempt to fire a musket at them, and immediately aimed a volley of shot

at the boat, by which a man was killed. Captain Vandeput soon after commenced a firing from the Asia with grape shot, swivel shot, 18 and 24 pounders, without killing a single person, and wounded only three, two slightly, the other lost the calf of his leg. He then ceased for a considerable time, supposing that the people had desisted from their purpose, while they were only changing their mode of operation.

Captain Sears provided a deceiving party, intended to draw the Asia's fire from the line of the working party. He sent the former behind a breast-work, by which they were secured by dodging down upon observing the flash of the Asia's guns. When all was in readiness, they huzzaed, and sung out their notes, as though tugging in unison, and fired from the walls; while the working party silently got off twenty-one eighteen pounders, with carriages, empty cartridges, rammers, &c.

Upon hearing the noise, and seeing the fire of the musketry, the captain ordered the Asia to fire a whole broadside towards that part of the fort, where the deceiving party had secured themselves, without intending any particular injury to the city. However, some of the shot flew into the city, and did damage.

This affair happened at a verry late hour, between twelve and two, and threw the citizens into the utmost consternation. The distress of the New Yorkers was very much encreased by a painful apprehension, that Capt. Vandeput would renew his firing upon the city. A removal of men, women, children, and goods instantly commenced, and continued for some time. Matters were however so far adjusted, as to quiet the apprehensions of the people, in reference to their suffering further from the fire of the Asia. To prevent it, the convention permitted Abraham Lott, Esq. to supply all his majesty's ships, stationed at New York, with all necessaries, as well fresh as salted, for the use of those ships.

In the month of November, the general assembly of Rhode Island passed an act for the capital punishment of persons, who should be found guilty of holding a traiterous correspondence with the ministry of Great Britain, or any of their officers or agents, or of supplying the ministerial army or navy, employed against the United Colonies, with provisions, arms, &c. or of acting as pilots on board any of their vessels. They also passed an act for sequestering the estates of several persons, whom they considered as avowed enemies to the liberties of America.

On the night of the 26th of August, about 2000 American troops entrenched on Plowed-hill, within point blank shot of the British on Bunker's-hill; and notwithstanding a continual fire almost all the day following, they had only two killed and two wounded. The British finding that their firing did not answer, relaxed, and after a while desisted entirely, and the Americans remained quiet in their new post.

In the beginning of September, General Washington received a very acceptable remittance of 7000 pounds weight of powder, which had been very scarce in the American army.



Gen. Washington having received pleasing accounts from Canada, being assured that neither Indians nor Canadians could be prevailed upon to act against the Americans, concerted the plan of detaching a body of troops from the head quarters, across the country to Quebec. He communicated the same to Gen. Schuyler, who approved it, and all things were got in readiness. They set out on the expedition on the 13th of September, under the command of Col. Arnold, assisted by the Colonels Green and Enos, and Majors Megis and Bigelow, the whole force amounting to about eleven hundred men.

On the 18th of October, Capt. Mowat destroyed 139 houses, 278 stores and other buildings, the far greater and better part of the town of Falmouth, in the northern part of Massachusetts. The inhabitants, in compliance with a resolve of the provincial congress, to prevent tories carrying out their effects, gave some violent obstruction to the loading of a mast ship which drew upon them the indignation of the British admiral.

In the mean time, Gen. Montgomery was sent forward to Ticonderoga with a body of troops; and being arrived at the Isle aux Noix, he drew up a declaration, which he sent among the Canadians by Col. Allen and Major Brown, assuring them, that the army was designed only against the English garrisons, and not against the country, their liberties, or religion.

Col. Allen and Major Brown being on their return, after executing the commission, with which the general had entrusted them, the latter advised Col. Allen to halt, and proposed, that the colonel should return to Longueil, procure canoes and cross the river St. Lawrence, a little north of Montreal, while he, the major, crossed a little to the south of the town, with near 200 men, as he had boats sufficient. The plan was approved, and Col. Allen passed the river in the night. The major, by some means, failed on his part, and Col. Allen found himself, the next morning, in a critical situation, but concluded on defending himself. Gen. Carleton, learning how weak Col. Allen was, marched out against him with about forty regulars, together with Canadians, English and Indians, amounting to some hundreds. The colonel defended himself with much bravery; but being deserted by several, chiefly Canadians, and having had fifteen of his men killed, was under the necessity of surrendering with thirty-one effectives and seven wounded. He was directly put in irons.

On the 4th of October, a party of Canadians, who had joined and greatly assisted the besiegers, entrenched themselves on the east side of the lake, on which the enemy sent an armed sloop with troops to drive them away; but the Canadians attacked the sloop with vigour, killed a number of the men, and obliged her to return to St. John's in a shattered condition.

On the 7th, the main body of the army decamped from the south, and marched to the north side of the fort. In the evening, they began to throw up a breast work, in order to erect a battery of cannon and mortars. The continental troops brought such a



spirit of liberty into the field, and thought so freely for themselves, that they would not bear either subordination or discipline. The generals could not in truth direct their operations, and would not have stayed an hour at their head, had they not feared that the example would be too generally followed, and so have injured the public service. There was a great want of powder, which, with the disorderly behaviour of the troops, was a damp to the hope of terminating the siege successfully. The prospect, however, soon brightened, for the Americans planned an attack upon Chamblée, and in batteaus carried down the artillery, past the fort of St. John's. After a short demur, it surrendered to the majors Brown and Livingston. The greatest acquisition was about six tons of powder, which gave great encouragement to the provincials.

On the 12th of November, Gen. Montgomery pressed on to Montreal, which, not being capable of making any defence, Gov. Carleton quitted it one day, and the American general entered it the next.

Notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, Gen. Montgomery marched on for the capital, and on the 5th of December appeared before Quebec. The garrison consisted of about fifteen hundred, while the besiegers were said to consist of little more than half that number. Upon his appearing before the city, he sent forward a flag of truce, which was fired upon by order of Sir Guy Carleton. At this Gen. Montgomery was so provoked, that the next day he wrote to Sir Guy, and in his letter departed from the common mode of conveying his sentiments; he made use of threats and language, which in his cooler moments he would have declined.

In spite of the inclemency of the season, he set about erecting works. His batteries were composed of snow and water, which soon became solid ice. He planted on them five pieces of ordnance, twelve and nine pounders, with one howitzer; but the artillery was inadequate, and made no impression.

In the evening, a council was held by all the commanding officers of Col. Arnold's detachment, and a large majority were for storming the garrison, as soon as the men were provided with bayonets, spears, hatchets, and hand grenades. The plan of storming the garrison was wholly the work of Gen. Montgomery, who, in the council of war, held on the occasion, shewed the necessity, practicability, and importance of it, in such a clear and convincing manner, that they unanimously agreed to the measure. The attempt had the appearance of rashness; but the general was persuaded that men, who had behaved so bravely, would follow him, and that Sir Guy Carleton's forces would not fight, when actual service commenced.

On the 31st of December, the troops assembled at the hour appointed. They were to make the attack by the way of Cape Diamond, at the general's quarters on the heights of Abraham, and were headed by the general himself. Col. Arnold was to make the attack through the suburbs of St. Roe. Col. Livingston and

Major Brown were to make a false attack upon the walls, to the southward of St. John's gate, and in the mean time to set fire to the gate with the combustibles prepared for that purpose. The colonel was also to give the signals for the combination of the attacks, which was to begin exactly at five o'clock. It is said that Capt. Fraser, of the regulars, who was then on piquet, going his rounds, saw the rockets fired off as signals, and, forming a conjecture of what was going forwards, beat to arms without orders, and so prepared the garrison for defence.

The different routs the assailing bodies had to make, the depth of the snow, and other obstacles, prevented the execution of Livingston's command. The general moved with his division, attended by a number of carpenters, to the piquets at Cape Diamond. These were soon cut with the saws, and the general pulled them down himself. He then entered, attended by the carpenters and some of his officers.

On their entrance, their guides forsook them, which alarmed the general and other officers, who were unacquainted with the pass and situation of the enemy's artillery. However, they pressed on, and the general, observing that the troops did not follow with spirit, called out, "Fie, for shame! will the New York troops desert the cause in this critical moment? Will you not follow when your general leads? Push on, brave boys, Quebec is ours." A few acted with resolution, advanced, and attacked the guard house, when the enemy gave a discharge of grape shot from their cannon, and also of small arms, which proved fatal to the general, his aide de camp, Capt. Cheeseman, and others. The firing from the guard house ceased, by the enemies quitting their post, and the opportunity offered for the assailants to push forward with success; but the Deputy Quartermaster General, Campbell, with the rank of a colonel, assumed the command, ordered a retreat, which took place, and the wounded were carried off to the camp.

The division under Col. Arnold was equally unsuccessful. The colonel received a wound in one of his legs from a musket ball, and was carried to the general hospital. His men maintained their ground till ten o'clock, when, all hopes of relief being over, they were at last obliged to surrender prisoners of war. In this attack the provincials lost upwards of an hundred men. Gen. Montgomery was shot through both his thighs and his head. His body was taken up the next day, an elegant coffin was prepared, and he was soon after decently interred. The general was tall and slender, well limbed, of easy, graceful, and manly address. He had the love, esteem, and confidence of the whole army; he was of a good family in Ireland, and had served with reputation in the late war with France. His excellent qualities and disposition procured him an uncommon share of private affection, and his abilities of public esteem. His death was considered as a greater loss to the American cause, than all the others with which it was accompanied.

When the continental troops had connected after the unsuccessful attack on Quebec, there arose a dispute who should command, and whether it was adviseable to raise the siege, or wait till a reinforcement should arrive. A council of war agreed, that Col. Arnold should command, and should continue the siege, or rather the blockade, which was accordingly done, apparently at no small risk, as they had not more than four hundred men fit for duty; but they retired about three miles from the city, and posted themselves advantageously.

MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

- 1775 *The expedition against Ticonderoga.*  
 — *George Washington, Esq. elected commander in chief of the continental forces.*  
 — *The battle of Bunker's Hill.*  
 — *Georgia accedes to the Union.*  
 — *The Thirteen United Colonies.*  
 — *The Asia man of war fires upon New York.*  
 — *Col. Arnold's expedition into Canada.*  
 — *Falmouth destroyed, and on what account.*  
 — *Col. Allen taken prisoner, and put in irons.*  
 — *General Montgomery appears before Quebec, and is killed there.*

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CHAP. V.

LET us now return to Boston and its environs, and see what was transacting there. On the 15th of February, 1776, the strength of the ice having been tried in one place, and the frost continuing, Gen. Washington was desirous of embracing the season for passing over it, from Cambridge side into Boston. He laid before the council of war the following question: "A stroke well aimed at this critical juncture may put a final period to the war, and restore peace and tranquility so much to be wished for; and therefore, whether part of Cambridge and Roxbury bays being frozen over, a general assault should not be made on Boston?"

Gen. Ward opposed the idea, saying, "the attack must be made with a view of bringing on an engagement, or of driving the enemy out of Boston, and either end will be answered much better by possessing Dorchester heights." When the votes were called for the majority were against the attack. It was however determined to possess themselves of Dorchester heights, which was accordingly afterwards accomplished.

On the fifth of March, the British admiral informed gen. Howe, that if the Americans possessed those heights, he could not keep



one of his majesty's ships in the harbour. Every design of general Howe to force the American works on the hill being frustrated, a council of war was called, when it was agreed to evacuate the town as soon as possible. The time that had been gained by the Americans for strengthening their works, took away all hopes of any successful attempts to be made on them by the British forces. The Americans had provided a great number of barrels, filled with stones, gravel and sand, which were placed round the works, ready to be rolled down, with a view to break the lines of any hostile advancing troops, when ascending the hills.

On the 7th of March, there was a general hurry and confusion in Boston, every one, in the royal interest, being busy in preparing to quit the town, and to carry off every thing that was valuable. A flag was sent out from the select men, acquainting gen. Washington with the intention of the troops, and that gen. Howe was disposed to leave the town standing, provided he could retire uninterrupted. Gen. Washington bound himself under no obligation, but expressed himself in words, which admitted of a favourable construction, and intimated his good wishes for the preservation of Boston. At four o'clock in the morning of the 17th, the embarkation was completed, and before ten the whole fleet was under sail, and the provincials soon after took possession of the town.

Let us now take a view of what was doing in Virginia. Towards the close of 1775, the Liverpool frigate arrived at Norfolk from Great Britain. Soon after, the captain sent a flag of truce, and demanded to be informed, whether his majesty's ship of war would be supplied from the shore with provisions. The reply was in the negative; and the ships in the harbour being continually annoyed by the riflemen from behind the buildings and warehouses on the wharfs, it was determined to dislodge them by destroying the town.

Previous notice was given, that the women, children, and other innocent persons, might remove from the danger. The entrance of the new year was signalized, at four o'clock in the morning, by a violent cannonade, from the Liverpool, two sloops of war, and the governor's armed ship the Dunmore, seconded by parties of sailors and marines, who landed and fired the houses next the water. Where buildings, instead of being covered with tile, slate, or lead, are covered with shingles, (thin light pieces of fir or cedar, half a yard in length, and about six inches broad) let the wind be ever so moderate, they will, upon being fired, be likely to communicate the conflagration to a distance, should the weather be dry, by the burning shingles being driven by the force of the flames to the tops of other houses.

Thus the whole town was reduced to ashes, that the Americans might have no shelter, should they be inclined to establish a post on the spot. A few men were killed and wounded at the burning of Norfolk, the most populous and considerable town for commerce of any in Virginia. It contained about 6000 inhabitants, and many in affluent circumstances. The whole loss was estimated at more

than three hundred thousand pounds sterling. However urgent the necessity, it was an odious sight to see the governor, Lord Dunmore, a principle actor in burning and destroying the best town in his government. The horrid distresses brought upon numbers of innocent persons, by these operations, must wound the feelings of all who are not hardened by a party spirit.

While matters were thus transacting in America, the ministry at home gave into great expenses, to supply the army at Boston with fresh provisions and other articles. Sir Peter Parker and Earl Cornwallis, with the *Acteon* and *Thunder* bomb, sailed, from Portsmouth for Corke, to convoy the troops and transports there to America; but, owing to some delays, the fleet did not sail before the 13th of February. It consisted of forty-three sail, and about 2500 troops.

On the 14th of March, a fresh attempt was made in the house of lords, to prevent a continuance of hostilities, which so far succeeded, that in the May following, letters patent, by his Majesty's orders, passed under the great seal, constituting Lord Howe and Gen. Howe, to be his majesty's commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies in North America, and for granting pardon to such of his majesty's subjects there, then in rebellion, as should deserve the royal mercy. The same month, Commodore Hotham, with all the transports, having the first division of Hessians on board, sailed from St. Helen's for North America. But let us return to Canada, and attend to what was going forward in that quarter.

The blockade of Quebec was continued; but the fears of the Americans were great, as they had no more than 400 men to do duty, while there were upwards of three times the number in the city; they were in daily expectation that the besieged would sally out upon them. At length, a small reinforcement arrived, which enabled them to take a little more rest, though the army was again soon reduced by the small-pox that broke out among them.

Towards the end of May, several regiments arrived from England, and the British forces in Canada were estimated at about 13,000 men. The general rendezvous was appointed to be at Three Rivers, half way between Quebec and Montreal. The Americans now formed a plan to surprise the British troops, and for that purpose marched under cover of the night, on the 8th of June, in order to attack them a little before day-break. Gen. Thompson, who commanded in this expedition, had procured a Canadian guide, who was either ignorant or unfaithful; for, a little before sunrise, he found his forces were out of the proper road. They returned, but losing their way by the side of the river, they were soon in view of some of the enemy's boats, between which and the flanking party several balls were exchanged. They then quickened their pace, and continued advancing in sight of the shipping, with drums beating and fifes playing, as they knew they were discovered. The general, judging there was no possibility of passing the ships, without being exposed to all their fire, and yet determining to persist in the expedition, filed off at a right angle

from the river. He meant to take a circuitous route, and enter the town on the back side. A bad morass interposed, the troops entered it, and the men were almost mired. About nine o'clock, they came to a cleared spot, formed, and got into some order about ten. They advanced, but before the rear had got off the place of formation, the front received a heavy fire from the enemy, which struck them with terror. The fire was instantly repeated, and though the balls flew over the heads of the troops, without doing any material execution, they gave way, and crowded back, in the utmost confusion, which left them without a leader, so that every one did as he pleased. They turned their faces up the river, and hastened through the swamp as fast as possible. About eleven they began to collect, and soon learned from the Canadians, that the enemy had sent a detachment, with several field-pieces by land, to cut off their retreat and a party by water to seize their boats. About four they were told that the enemy had secured the bridge before them, which it was supposed they must pass. They were also soon convinced, that a large body was closely in the rear. Col. Maxwell ordered all who had collected together to halt, called the officers to him, and said, "What shall we do? Shall we fight those in the front or in the rear? Shall we tamely submit? or shall we turn off into the woods, and each man shift for himself?" The last proposal was preferred; but the enemy was so near that the rear of the Americans was exposed to another tremendous fire, while going down the hill into the woods, but the balls flew over them without injuring any. The person, who was entrusted with the care of the boats, had removed them in time to a secure place; so that the loss of the Americans, which must otherwise have been much greater, amounted only to about 200 prisoners.

The troops that escaped began to collect about ten the next day and by noon were considerably numerous. They got along by degrees, and by sun-set the day following arrived opposite Sorel. Gen. Thompson and Col. Irwin, the second in command, with some other officers, were taken. The killed and wounded of the king's troops were trifling.

The king's forces having joined at Three Rivers, proceeded by land and water to Sorel, off which the fleet arrived in the evening, a few hours after the rear of the Americans had left it. A considerable body was landed, and the command of the column given to Gen. Burgoyne, with instructions to pursue the continental army up the river to St. John's, but without hazarding any thing till another column on his right should be able to co-operate with him. Sir Guy Carleton's extraordinary precaution to put nothing to hazard, when not absolutely necessary, gave the Americans the opportunity of escaping. Had Burgoyne been instructed to press on with the utmost expedition, great numbers of the provincials must have been made prisoners, and but few would have crossed Lake Champlain. Thus ended the expedition against Quebec.



To return to Boston. The British Commodore Banks, omitting to leave cruisers in the bay, afforded an opportunity to the American privateers of taking a number of Highlanders. Three days after his quitting it, the *George* and *Annabella* transports entered, after a passage of seven weeks from Scotland, during the course of which they had not an opportunity of speaking with a single vessel, that could give them the smallest information of the British troops having evacuated Boston. They were attacked in the morning by four privateers, with whom they engaged till the evening, when the privateers bore away, and the transports pushed for Boston harbour, not doubting but they should there receive protection, either from a fort or ship of force stationed for the security of British vessels. They stood up for Nantasket road, when an American battery opened upon them, which was the first serious proof they had of the situation of affairs at the port to which they were destined. They were too far embayed to retreat, as the wind had died away, and the tide was half expended. The privateers, with which they had been engaged, joined by two others, made towards them. They prepared for action; but, by some misfortune, the *Annabella* got a-ground so far astern of the *George*, that the latter expected but a feeble support from her musketry. About eleven at night, the privateers anchored close by, and hailed them to strike the British flag. The mate of the *George*, and every sailor on board, the captain excepted, refused to fight any longer; but the officers and privates of the seventy-first regiment stood to their quarters till all their ammunition was expended, when they were forced to yield. They had eight privates and a major killed, besides seventeen wounded. The number of Highlanders taken were 267 privates, 48 officers, besides Lieut. Col. Campbell.

On the 25th of June, Gen. Howe arrived at Sandy Hook in the *Greyhound* frigate. He soon received from Gov. Tryon a full account of the state and disposition of the province, as well as of the strength of the Americans. Gen. Washington's army was small, rather below 9000 fit for duty. Of this little army, it was said, at least 2000 were wholly destitute of arms, and nearly as many with arms in such condition as to be rather calculated to discourage than animate the user. On the 2d of July, Gen. Howe's troops took possession of Staten Island.

On the first of July, congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, upon the subject of independence; but neither colonies nor members being unanimous, it was postponed till the next day. On the fourth, they had it under further consideration, when the declaration of independence was agreed to and adopted. The title of it was,

*"A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled."*

The preamble follows in these words.—“When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the

political bands, which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station, to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind require that they should declare the causes that impel them to the separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal—that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed—that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations upon such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity that constrains them to alter their former systems of government."

The declaration proceeds to give a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over those states.

On the 8th of July, at twelve o'clock, the declaration of independence was proclaimed at the state-house in Philadelphia, amidst the greatest acclamations. The next day, in consequence of general orders, it was read at the head of each brigade of the continental army at New York, and every where received with loud buzzes, and the utmost demonstrations of joy. The same evening, the equestrian statue of the king was laid prostrate on the ground, and the lead of which it was made was doomed to be run into bullets.

On the 14th of August, Lord Dunmore quitted Virginia, and joined the British forces. He arrived with Lord Campbell and Sir Peter Parker off Staten Island. His lordship continued on the coasts, and in the rivers of Virginia, till the closeness and filth of the small vessels, in which the fugitives were crowded, together with the heat of the weather, the badness and scarcity of water and provisions, produced a pestilential fever, which made great havoc, especially among the negroes, many of whom were swept away. When at length every place was shut against him, and neither water nor provisions were to be obtained, but at the expense of blood, it was found necessary to burn several of the smaller and

least valuable vessels, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Americans, and to send the remainder, with the exiled friends of government, to seek shelter in Florida, Bermudas, and the West Indies.

Lord Howe arrived off Halifax towards the end of June, and from thence proceeded to New York, and reached Staten Island by the 12th of July. From thence he sent on shore by a flag to Amboy, a circular letter, together with a declaration to several of the late governors of the colonies, acquainting them with his powers, and desiring them to publish the same as generally as possible, for the information of the people. But it is now too late to bring them back to the obedience of the mother country, since the declaration of independence had been every where solemnly read.

In the month of August, Gen. Howe finding himself sufficiently strong to attempt something, resolved on making a descent on Long Island. The necessary measures being taken by the fleet for covering the descent, the army was landed, without opposition, between two small towns, Utrecht and Gravesend, not far from the Narrows, on the nearest shore to Staten Island.

On this island are several passes through the mountains or hills, which are easily defensible, being very narrow, and the lands high and mountainous on each side. These were the only roads that could be passed from the south side of the hills to the American lines, except a road leading round the easterly end of the hill to Jamaica. An early attention had been given to the importance of these passes. To the second of them, the small American parties, patrolling on the coasts, retired upon the approach of the British boats with the troops. Lord Cornwallis pushed on immediately with the reserve and some other forces; but finding the Americans in possession of the pass, in compliance with orders, he risked no attack.

The Americans had on each of the three passes or roads a guard of 800 men; and to the east of them in the wood, Col. Miles was placed with his battalion to guard the road from the south of the hills to Jamaica, and to which the motion of the enemy on that side, with orders to keep a party constantly reconnoitring to and across the Jamaica road. The sentinels were so placed as to keep a continual communication between the three guards on the three roads.

On the 26th of August, Gen. Howe, having fully settled a plan of surprize, Gen. de Heister, with his Hessians, took post at Flatbush in the evening, and composed the centre. About nine o'clock the same night, the principal army, containing much the greater part of the British forces, under the commands of Gen. Clinton, Earl Percy, and Lord Cornwallis, marched in order to gain the road leading round the easterly end of the hills to Jamaica, and so to turn the left of the Americans. Col. Miles, whose duty it was to guard this road, suffered the British to march not less than six miles, till they were near two miles in the rear of the guards, before he discovered and gave notice of their approach.



The next day, before day-break, Gen. Clinton arrived within half a mile of the road, when he halted, and settled his disposition for the attack. One of his patrols fell in with a patrol of American officers on horseback, who were trepanned and made prisoners. Gen. Sullivan, though in expectation that they would bring him intelligence, neglected sending out a fresh patrol on finding himself disappointed. Clinton, learning from the captured officers, that the Americans had not occupied the road, detached a battalion of light infantry to secure it, and advancing with his troops upon the first appearance of day, possessed himself of the heights that commanded the road.

About midnight, the guard, consisting all of New Yorkers and Pennsylvanians, perceiving that there was danger at hand, fled without firing a gun, and carried to Gen. Parsons, who commanded them, the account of the enemy's advancing in great numbers by that road. Gen. Grant's movements were to divert the attention of the Americans from the left, where the main attack was to be made by Gen. Clinton. By day-light, Gen. Parsons perceived, that the British were got through the wood, and were descending on the north side. He took twenty of his fugitive guard, being all he could collect, and posted them on a height in front of the British, about half a mile distant, which halted their column, and gave time for Lord Stirling to come up with his forces, amounting to about 1500, who possessed himself of a hill about two miles from the camp.

The engagement began soon after day-break, by the Hessians from Flatbush, under Gen. Heister, and by Gen. Grant on the coast; and a warm cannonade, with a brisk fire of small arms, were eagerly supported on both sides for some considerable time. The Americans opposing Gen. Heister were the first who were apprized of the march of the British troops under Gen. Clinton. They accordingly retreated in large bodies, and in tolerable order, to recover their camp; but they were soon interrupted by the right wing under Gen. Clinton, who, having halted and refreshed his forces after passing the heights, continued his march, and getting into the rear of the left of the Americans, about half past eight o'clock, attacked them with his light infantry and light dragoons, while quitting the heights to return to their lines. They were driven back, and again met the Hessians, and thus were they alternately chased and intercepted. In these desperate circumstances, some of their regiments, overpowered and outnumbered, as they were, forced their way to the camp, through all the dangers with which they were pressed.

The Americans under Lord Stirling, who were engaged with Gen. Grant, behaved with great bravery and resolution; but were so late in their knowledge of what passed elsewhere, that their retreat was intercepted by some of the British troops, who, besides turning the hills and the American left, had traversed the whole extent of country in their rear. Several broke through the enemy's line, and got into the woods. Gen. Parsons, with a small

party, escaped by doing the same ; numbers threw themselves into the marsh at Gorvan's Cove, some were drowned, and others perished in the mud. However, a considerable body escaped to the lines. The nature of the country, and the variety of the ground occasioned a continuance and extension of small engagements, pursuits and slaughter, which lasted for many hours before the scene closed.

The British troops displayed great valour and activity on this occasion. So impetuous was their ardour, that it was with difficulty they could be restrained, by Gen. Howe's orders, from attacking the American lines. They would probably have entered them, had not the works been completed the night before the action, by closing an opening on the right, and placing an abatis before it. The Americans were most completely surprised and effectually entrapped. Col. Smallwood's Maryland regiment suffered extremely, and was almost cut to pieces, losing 259 men. The loss was much regretted, on account of their being young men of the best families in the country. All who were engaged in the actions of this day did not display the same courage ; nor was it to be expected from such raw troops. Many escaped from the want of discipline ; for they broke at the sight of danger, and saved themselves by flight, whereas otherwise they must have been killed or taken. Large bodies however were captured. Gen. Sullivan, Lord Stirling, and Gen. Udell, besides three colonels, four lieutenant-colonels, three majors, eighteen captains, forty-three lieutenants, eleven ensigns, an adjutant, three surgeons, and two volunteers, were made prisoners, together with a thousand and six privates, in all a thousand and ninety-seven. As among the prisoners the wounded were included, an allowance of between four and five hundred for killed, drowned, perished in the woods, the mud, and the like, may be reckoned about the mark. The loss of the British, in killed and wounded, did not exceed three hundred and eighteen, of whom only sixty-one were killed. After the battle, the Americans retreated to New York, to which place they crossed over, under the favour of a fog, taking with them all their military stores, and leaving nothing behind them but a few pieces of cannon, and some trifling matters.

#### MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

1776 *Gen. Howe evacuates Boston.*

— *Norfolk in Virginia burnt.*

— *Sir Peter Parker and Earl Cornwallis sail for America.*

— *The blockade of Quebec continued*

— *The Americans raise the blockade and retreat.*

— *A number of Highlanders taken in Boston bay.*

— *Declaration of American Independence.*

— *Gen. Howe lands the royal army on Long Island, and drives the Americans off it.*

## CHAP. VI.

**AFTER** the affair of Long Island, endeavours were used by the Americans to keep up the spirits of the people, by puffing accounts of the extraordinary bravery of their troops, and the destruction they made of the enemy. But that matters were not very promising appears from a letter of Gen. Mercer, who commanded the flying camp, dated September the 4th, wherein he writes : " Gen. Washington has not, so far as I have seen, 5000 men to be depended on for the service of a campaign ; and I have not 1000. Both our armies are composed of raw militia, perpetually fluctuating between the camp and their farms ; poorly armed, and still worse disciplined. These are not a match for, were their numbers equal to veteran troops, well fitted and urged on by able officers. Numbers and discipline must at last prevail. Giving soldiers, or even the lower orders of mankind, the choice of officers, will forever mar the discipline of armies."

Gen. Howe having fully prepared for a descent on New York Island, embarked a strong division of the army under the command of Gen. Clinton and others, in boats, at the head of Newtown inlet, and at another place higher up, where they could not be observed by the Americans, who expected the attack would be made on the side next to the East river, and had therefore thrown up lines and works to defend themselves.

On the 15th of September, about eleven o'clock, Gen. Howe's troops landed, under the cover of five ships of war, in two divisions, the Hessians in one place, and the British in another. As soon as Gen. Washington heard the firing of the men of war, he rode with all dispatch towards the lines ; but to his great mortification, found the troops posted in them retreating with the utmost precipitation ; and those ordered to support them, Parsons's and Fellows's brigade, flying in every direction, and in the greatest confusion. His attempts to stop them were fruitless, though he drew his sword, threatened to run them through, and cocked and snapped his pistols.

On the appearance of a small party of the enemy, not more than sixty or seventy, their disorder was increased, and they ran off without firing a single shot, leaving the general in a hazardous situation, so that his attendants, to extricate him out of it, caught the bridle of his horse, and gave him a different direction.

Three large ships were stationed in the North river, opposite to those in the East river, and both kept up a constant cannonading with grape-shot and langrage quite across the island. The Hessians, upon their landing, seized and secured, in a neighbouring building, as enemies, some persons who had been placed there to serve as guides, which for a while subjected them to a difficulty.



When the regulars were completely landed, they advanced towards the Kingsbridge road. The American brigades which had fled on the enemy's approaching the lines, did not stop till they were met by Col. Glover's and five other brigades, who were hastening down to them. As soon as they joined, the whole marched forward, and took post on some heights, when suddenly 8000 of the enemy appeared on the next height, and halted. Gen. Washington at first consented that his troops should march forward, and give them battle; but, on a second consideration, he gave counter orders, as he could not have any dependence on the militia and the flying camp, which composed half the number then present. When the Americans retired, and no prospect of action remained, the English took possession of New York.

Gen. Washington, while moving the army from New York, into the country, was careful to march and form the troops, so as to make a front towards the enemy, from East Chester almost to White Plains, on the east side of the highway, thereby to secure the march of those who were behind on their right, and to defend the removal of the sick, cannon, and other matters of consequence; but the want of many necessary articles considerably retarded their march.

On the 25th of October, the royal army moved in two columns, and took a position they thought the most advantageous. Observing, however, that Gen. Washington's lines were much strengthened by additional works, he deferred all further attack till the arrival of more troops. Several skirmishes had already taken place, but nothing decisive had yet happened.

On the last day of October, Gen. Howe, being joined by the troops from Lord Percy, made dispositions for attacking the American lines early the next morning; but an extreme wet night and morning prevented the execution at the time appointed, and it was not attempted afterwards, though the day proved fair. Gen. Washington gained intelligence of his danger from a deserter, when he drew off most of his troops at night, totally evacuated his camp early in the morning of the first of November, and took higher ground towards the North Castle district; leaving a strong rear-guard on the heights and in the woods of White Plains. Orders were given by Gen. Howe to attack this corps; but the execution of it was prevented by a violent rain.

Though this affair at White Plains made so much noise at the time in which it happened, no general action took place, and the Americans retreated, leaving the English in possession of New York and the Jerseys.

Gen. Washington, however, soon after made a descent on Jersey, and at Trenton surprised and took prisoners twenty-three Hessian officers, and 886 men of the same nation. In the evening, Gen. Washington repassed the Delaware, and retired to Pennsylvania.

From this period to the month of June, 1777, nothing passed in Jersey but one continued scene of blood and slaughter among de-

tached parties, without any decisive advantages being gained by either side. On the 30th of June, at ten o'clock in the morning, the English troops began to cross over to Staten Island, and the rear-guard passed at two in the afternoon, without the least appearance of an enemy. Thus they evacuated the Jerseys, to enter upon new conquests, in hopes of reducing the United States to unconditional submission.

Let us now turn to the British operations in the North, which were taken out of the hands of Sir Guy Carleton, and committed to the charge of Gen. Burgoyne. The forces allotted to them, consisting of British and German troops, amounted to more than 7000 men, exclusive of the artillery corps. A powerful brass train of artillery was furnished, probably the finest, and the most excellently supplied as to officers and private men, that had ever been destined to second the operations of an army not exceeding the present number. The army was, in every respect, in the best condition, the troops were in the highest spirits, admirably disciplined, and uncommonly healthy.

The main body, under General Burgoyne, proceeded up Lake Champlain, landed and encamped at no great distance from Crown Point, where he met the Indians in congress, and afterwards, in compliance with their customs, gave them a war-feast. He made a speech to them, calculated to excite their ardour in the common cause, at the same time to repress their barbarity. He conjured them, to kill those only who opposed them in arms; that old men, women, children, and prisoners, should be held sacred from the knife or hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict; that they should scalp those only whom they had slain in fair opposition; but that under no pretence should they scalp the wounded, or even dying, much less kill persons in that condition. They were promised a compensation for prisoners, but informed, that they should be called to account for scalps.

On the near approach of the right wing of the royal army on the Ticonderoga side, the Americans abandoned their works towards Lake George, and left Gen. Phillips to possess the advantageous post of Mount Hope, without making any resistance, which would have been ineffectual, and could have answered no good purpose. That apparent supineness and want of vigour, with which they were chargeable, was not occasioned by cowardice, but actual imbecility.

Gen. Burgoyne's troops proceeded with much expedition, in the construction of their works, the bringing up of artillery, stores, and provisions; but what gave the greatest alarm was, the rapid progress they made in clearing a road, and getting artillery on Sugar Hill. When once they had erected a battery on this height, only a few hours more would have been required to have invested the Americans on all sides.

Gen. St. Clair, having received intelligence by spies, that in twenty-four hours the investiture would be completed, when he should be cut off from all possibility of succour, Gen. Schuyler

not having force sufficient at fort Edward to relieve him, he determined to evacuate his posts, though he knew it would produce such astonishment as had not happened since the commencement of the war. He plainly perceived, that if he continued there, he should lose the army, but save his character; whereas, by abandoning the place he should save the army, and lose his character. A council of war was called, and it was unanimously concluded upon to evacuate as soon as possible.

At two o'clock in the morning of July the 6th, Gen. St. Clair left Ticonderoga. About three the troops were put in motion for the evacuation of the Mount; but Fermoy having set fire to his house, contrary to positive orders, the whole mount was enlightened by it, so that the enemy had an opportunity of seeing every thing that passed, which damped the spirits of the Americans, and induced them to push off in a disorderly manner.

In the morning, Gen. Frazer, perceiving the evacuation, and that the Americans were retiring, commanded a pursuit with his brigade, consisting of the light troops, grenadiers, and some other corps. Gen. Reidesel, with most of the Brunswickers, was ordered by Gen. Burgoyne to join in the pursuit, either to support Frazer, or to act separately. The latter continued the pursuit through the day, and receiving intelligence, that St. Clair's rear was at no great distance, he ordered his troops to lie that night on their arms. In the morning, he came up with the Americans, commanded by Col. Warner, who had, besides his own, the regiments of Colonels Francis and Hale. The British advanced boldly, and the two bodies formed within about sixty yards of each other. Frazer began the attack about seven o'clock, expecting every moment to be joined by Reidesel, and apprehending, that if he delayed, the enemy would escape. Hale being apprised of the danger, never brought his regiment to the charge, but fled; so that Warner could bring into action no more than about 700 men. The conflict was bloody: Francis fell fighting with great bravery, and Warner, his officers, and soldiers, behaved with much resolution and gallantry; so that the British broke and gave way, but soon formed again, and running on the Americans with their bayonets, the latter were put into no small confusion, which was increased by the critical arrival of Gen. Reidesel with the foremost of his column, consisting of the Chasseur company, and light infantry, who were immediately led into action. The Americans now fled on all sides. Gen. St. Clair heard when the firing began, and would have supported Warner; but the troops that were nearest, two militia regiments, would not obey orders, and the others were at too great a distance. Hale, who had attempted to get off by flight, fell in with an inconsiderable party of British, and surrendered himself and a number of his men prisoners. The Americans lost 324 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and among the last were twelve officers. The royal troops, including British and German, had not less than 183 killed and wounded.



The evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence surprised Gen. Washington, and spread astonishment and terror through the New-England states. The general was led to believe that the garrison was much stronger. The Massachusetts General Court were faulty, in not having seasonably forwarded their quota of troops, agreeable to the requisition of Congress.

Let us now return to see what was doing by Gen. Howe. The British fleet and army which lay at Sandy Hook, were destined for the reduction of Philadelphia, in pursuance of a plan which had been settled between Sir William Howe and Lord George Germain, but did not sail till the 23d of July. The land forces consisted of thirty-six British and Hessian battalions, including the light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery, a New York corps, called Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of light horse, estimated all together, at about 16,000 men. The fleet consisted of 267 sail. Gen. Howe's thus abandoning Burgoyne equally excited the astonishment of friends and enemies.

On the 14th of June, the Congress resolved, that the flag of the Thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.

It was not till the third of September that the royal army began to move forwards. On its advancing near to the Americans, these abandoned their ground, perceiving that it would not answer their first expectation. They crossed Brandywine at Chad's ford, and took possession of the heights on the east side of it, with an evident intention of disputing the passage of the river; but the superior numbers of the regular forces at last obliged them to retire.

A little after sun-rise on the 11th of September, a warm engagement commenced, which lasted till the approach of night. On this occasion, the Americans shewed great resolution and courage; but a few hours more of day-light might have so animated the conquering regulars, fatigued as they were, as to have produced those exertions, which would have been productive of a total and ruinous defeat to the Americans. It was said, by the Americans themselves, that in this action, their loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was about twelve or thirteen hundred; and that the royal army did not suffer, on their part, short of seven or eight hundred, in killed and wounded. The Americans also lost ten small field pieces, and a howitzer, of which all but one were brass.

The evening after the battle, a party of regulars was sent to Wilmington, who took the governor of the Delaware state, Mr. M'Kenly, out of his bed, and possessed themselves of a shallop lying in the creek, loaded with the rich effects of some of the inhabitants, together with the public records of the county, and a large quantity of public and private money, besides articles of plate, and other things.

After various motions of the regular army, on the 26th of September, Gen. Howe made his triumphal entry into Philadelphia.

with a small part of his army, where he was most cordially received by the generality of the Quakers, and a few other royalists. The bulk of his troops were left in and about Germantown, a village forming one continued street for near two miles. Gen. Washington's army was encamped near Shippach-creek, about eighteen miles from thence. The Congress, on the loss of Philadelphia, removed to York-town.

To return to the northern army, under the command of Gen. Burgoyne. Several actions took place between the Americans and regulars, in the intended march of the British towards Albany. In these different skirmishes, the regulars suffered very considerably, as well as the Indians in their interest. The principal action happened at Bennington, in which the Americans took from the English four brass field-pieces, twelve drums, 250 dragoon swords, four ammunition waggons, and about seven hundred prisoners, among whom was Lieut. Col. Baum.

On the 30th of August, the English commander had occasion to write to Gen. Gates, and in his letter complained of inhumanity exercised towards the provincial soldiers in the king's service after the affair of Bennington, and then hinted at retaliation. Gen. Gates in his answer of September the 2d, invalidated the charge, and then retorted the Indian cruelties, which he imputed to Burgoyne, saying, "Miss M'Rea a young lady of virtuous character, and amiable disposition, engaged to an officer in your army, was, with other women and children, taken out of a house near Fort Edward, carried into the woods, and there murdered and mangled, in a most shocking manner. Two parents, with their six children, were all scalped and treated with the same inhumanity, while quietly residing in their once happy and peaceful dwellings. The miserable fate of Miss M'Rea was particularly aggravated, by her being dressed to receive her promised husband; when she met her murderer employed by you. Upwards of one hundred men, women, and children, have perished by the hands of the ruffians, to whom it is asserted, you have paid the price of blood." Gen. Burgoyne, in his reply of the 6th of the same month, vindicated his own character; shewed that Miss M'Rea's death was no premeditated barbarity, and declared, that every other charge, exhibited by Gen. Gates, was ill-founded and erroneous.

The murder of Miss M'Rea exasperated the Americans, and from that and other cruelties occasion was taken to blacken the royal party and army. The people detested that army which accepted of such Indian aid, and loudly reprobated that government which could call in such auxiliaries. Gen. Gates was not deficient in aggravating, by several publications, the excesses that had taken place, and with no small advantage to his own military operations.

On the 18th of September, Gen. Burgoyne, having been very short of provisions, at length received a supply for about thirty days, together with other necessary stores. He then resolved upon passing Hudson's river with the army, which having executed, he encamped on the heights and on the plain of Saratoga.

The Americans, observing the motions of the royal army, marched out 3000 strong, in order to attack him, but found that to be prudentially impracticable. However, they drew up in full view of him, and there remained till dark.

The next day some of the American scouting parties fell in with those of the British, and with great boldness began the attack about one o'clock at noon. The firing was no sooner heard by Gen. Phillips, than he made his way, with a part of the artillery, through the woods, and rendered essential services. Each commander supported, reinforced, and ordered different regiments to engage. The battle was hot and obstinate on both sides, till about half past two o'clock, when it ceased for half an hour. The American and British lines being fully formed, the action was renewed, and became general at three. Both armies appeared determined to conquer or die, and there was one continual blaze of fire for three hours without intermission; the report of the muskets resembled an incessant roll-beating on a number of drums. The Americans and British alternately drove and were driven by each other. Three British regiments, the 20th, the 21st, and the 62d, were in constant and close fire for near four hours. All suffered considerable loss: the 62d, which was 500 strong when it left Canada, was now reduced to less than 60 men, and to four or five officers. Few actions have been characterised, by more obstinacy in attack or defence, than was the present. Both parties claimed the victory, though neither had much advantage to boast of.

From this time till near the middle of October, battles and skirmishes continually took place between the two armies, and the British were sadly reduced and weakened. On the 13th Gen. Burgoyne, finding that the troops had only three days provision in store, on short allowance, and no apparent means of retreat remaining, called into council all the generals, field-officers, and captains commanding troops. There was not a spot of ground in the whole camp for holding the council of war, but what was exposed to cannon or rifle shot; and while the council was deliberating, an eighteen-pound ball crossed the table. By the unanimous advice of the council, the general was induced to open a treaty with Gen. Gates. The first proposals of the latter were rejected, and the sixth article with disdain, wherein it was required, that the British army should lay down their arms in their intrenchments. Burgoyne's counter-proposals were unanimously approved, and being sent to Gates were agreed to, on the 15th, without any material alteration.

Gen. Gates being fearful of the consequences that might follow, should Gen. Vaughan with his troops come up in time to Burgoyne's assistance, determined upon bringing the matter to an immediate issue. On the morning of the 17th, he got every thing in readiness for attacking the royal army. This done, he took out his watch, the time agreed for signing being come. He then sent Col. Gration on horseback to Burgoyne with a message, requiring the general to



sign, and allowed him no more than ten minutes to go and return. He was back in time, the treaty was signed, all hostile appearances ceased, and the Americans marched into the British lines to the tune of Yankee Doodle. They were kept there until the royal army had marched out of their lines, and deposited their arms at the place appointed by the treaty.

The delicacy with which this business was conducted reflects the highest honour upon the American general. It intimated, that he was sensible of the mortification attending a reverse of fortune, and that he was unwilling to aggravate the painful feelings of the royal troops, by admitting the American soldiers to be eye-witnesses to the degrading spectacle of piling their arms. When the arms were deposited agreeable to treaty, the royal troops were served with bread by the Americans, as they had not any left nor flour to make it. They had only one day's salt meat remaining.

The treaty was styled, "A convention between Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne and Major Gen. Gates." Among other articles it was stipulated, "That the troops under Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne shall march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the entrenchments, to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery are to be left.—The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers.—A free passage to be granted to the royal army to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston to be assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops, whenever Gen. Howe shall so order.—The officers' baggage not to be molested or searched.—During the stay of the troops in the Massachusetts bay, the officers are to be admitted on parole, and be allowed to wear their side-arms."

The return signed by Gen. Burgoyne, at the time of the convention, made the British army, including Germans, amount to 5791, which was very short of the number they had on setting out from Canada. The train of brass artillery, consisting of 42 pieces, was a fine acquisition to the Americans. There were also 4647 muskets, 6000 dozen of cartridges, besides shot, carcasses, shells, &c.

Had Clinton advanced in time, Burgoyne would have been saved; but the troops he dispatched under Gen. Vaughan amused themselves with burning *Æsopus*, a fine village in the neighbourhood of Stillwater. Gen. Vaughan with a flood tide, might have reached Albany in four hours, as there was no force to hinder him. Had he proceeded thither, and burnt the stores, Gates as he himself afterwards declared, must have retreated into New England.

#### MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

- 1776 *Wretched state of the armies under the Generals Washington and Gates.*  
 — *New York taken by the royal forces.*  
 — *The battle of the White Plains.*  
 — *A body of Hessians defeated at Trenton.*

- 1777 *Gen. Howe embarks his army from Staten Island.*
- *Gen. Burgoyne proceeds to Crown Point.*
- *Ticonderoga and Mount Independence evacuated.*
- *Flag of the United States erected.*
- *Battle at the Brandywine.*
- *Account of Miss M<sup>c</sup>Rea's death.*
- *Americans engage the British under Gen. Burgoyne.*
- *Distress and Calamity of the Royal army.*
- *Gen. Burgoyne baffled in all his designs.*
- *Signs the Convention.*
- *Isopus burnt by the troops under Gen. Vaughan.*

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## CHAP. VII.

**TOWARDS** the end of October, 1777, the royal army, under the command of Sir William Howe removed to Philadelphia. Measures being concerted between the general and admiral for clearing the Delaware of its obstructions, the former ordered batteries to be erected on the western or Pennsylvanian shore, to assist in dislodging the Americans from Mud Island. He also detached a strong body of Hessians cross the river, who were to reduce the fort at Red-bank, while the ships and batteries on the other side were to attack Mud Island. Count Donop, in the service of the English, was intrusted with the expedition against Red-bank; but he failed in the attempt. He was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, several of his best officers were killed or disabled, and the Hessians, after a desperate engagement, were repulsed. The second in command being also dangerously wounded, the detachment was brought off by Lieut Col. Linsing. It is said that the royal detachment lost, on this occasion, between four and five hundred men.

The expedition against Mud Island met with better success, the Americans being driven from thence, and forced to retire to Red-bank.

On the night of the 18th of November, Lord Cornwallis marched with a considerable force, and the next day crossed the Delaware, in his way to Red-bank, which the Americans abandoned, leaving behind them the artillery, and a considerable quantity of cannon ball. The English generals confessed, that the long and unexpected opposition they received at Red-bank and Mud Island, broke in upon their plans for the remainder of the campaign.

On the third of May, 1778, Mr. Silas Deane arrived in America express from France, with very important dispatches. The Congress was immediately convened, and the dispatches opened and read, among which, to their inexpressible joy, were a treaty of commerce, and a treaty of alliance, concluded between his most Christian majesty, the king of France and the United States of

America. The treaties were duly weighed and considered separately the next day, and upon each it was unanimously resolved, "That the same be, and is hereby accepted." The next resolution was, "That this Congress entertain the highest sense of the magnanimity and wisdom of his most Christian majesty, so strongly exemplified in the treaty of amity and commerce; and the commissioners representing their states, at the court of France, are directed to present the grateful acknowledgments of this Congress to his most Christian majesty, for his truly magnanimous conduct respecting these states, in the said generous and disinterested treaties, and to assure his majesty, on the part of this Congress, it is sincerely wished, that the friendship so happily commenced between France and these United States may be perpetual."

The Congress, after receiving the treaties, had a stronger feeling of their own importance than before, and resolved, "That the commissioners appointed for the courts of Spain, Tuscany, Vienna, and Berlin, should live in such style and manner at their respective courts, as they may find suitable and necessary to support the dignity of their public character."

On the first of May, they agreed to a draught of "An address to the inhabitants of the United States of America." In this publication when they come to the French treaty, they say, "You have still to expect one severe conflict. Your foreign alliances, though they secure your independence, cannot secure your country from desolation, your habitations from plunder, your wives from insult or violation, nor your children from butchery. Foiled in the principal design, you must expect to feel the rage of disappointed ambition. Arise then! to your tents, and gird you for battle! It is time to turn the headlong current of vengeance upon the head of the destroyer. They have filled up the measure of their abominations, and like fruit must soon drop from the tree. Although much is done, yet much remains to do. Expect not peace, while any corner of America is in the possession of your foes. You must drive them away from this land of Promise, a land flowing indeed with milk and honey. Your brethren at the extremities of the continent already implore your friendship and protection. It is your duty to grant their request. They hunger and thirst after liberty. Be it yours to dispense to them the heavenly gift. And what is there now to prevent it?"

In the month of May, the American Randolph frigate of 36 guns, and 305 men, sailed on a cruise from Charleston. The Yarmouth, of 64 guns discovered her and five other vessels, and came up with her in the evening. Capt. Vincent hailed the Randolph to hoist colours, or he would fire into her; on which she hoisted American, and immediately gave the Yarmouth her broadside, which was returned, and in about a quarter of an hour she blew up. Four men saved themselves upon a piece of her wreck, and subsisted for five days upon nothing more than rain water, which they sucked from a piece of blanket they had picked up. On the fifth, the Yarmouth being in chase of a ship, happily discovered them waving. The captain humanely suspended the



chase, hauled up to the wreck, got a boat out, and brought them on board.

On the 7th of May, the second battalion of British light infantry, in flat boats, attended by three galleys and other armed boats, proceeded up the Delaware, in order to destroy all the American ships and vessels lying in the river between Philadelphia and Trenton. They landed the next morning, advanced towards Bordentown, drove the Americans that opposed them, entered the town, and burnt four store-houses, containing provisions, tobacco, some military stores and camp equipage. The country being alarmed, and a strong body collected, the battalion crossed to the Pennsylvanian shore. The next day they resumed their operations, and at sun-set embarked and returned to Philadelphia. While upon the expedition, they burnt two frigates, one of 32, the other of 28 guns; nine large ships, three privateer sloops of 16 guns each; three of ten guns, twenty-three brigs, with a number of sloops and schooners. Two of the ships were loaded with tobacco, rum, and military stores.

Gen. Howe was succeeded in the command of the army by Sir Henry Clinton, who arrived at Philadelphia on the 8th of May.

On the 6th of February, the treaties between France and the United States were signed. The alliance between these two powers was known to the British ministry soon after they were signed. Mr. Fox, in a debate in the House of Commons five days afterwards, asserted that the number of men lost to the army, killed, disabled, deserted, and from various other causes, from the commencement of hostilities with America to that period, amounted to above twenty thousand.

On the 17th, Lord North introduced his conciliatory propositions. His plan was to enable the crown to appoint commissioners to treat with the colonies concerning the means of putting an end to those unhappy contests; for which five persons were invested with ample powers. His lordship said in his speech, that Gen. Howe had been, in the late actions, and in the whole course of the campaign, not only in the goodness of troops, and in all manner of supplies, but also in point of numbers, much superior to the American army that opposed him in the field; that Gen. Burgoyne had been in numbers, until the affair at Bennington, nearly twice as strong as the army of the enemy; that he promised a great army should be sent out, and that a great army had accordingly been sent out, to the amount of 60,000 men and upwards.

The speech was long, able, and eloquent, and kept him up two full hours. A dull melancholy silence for some time succeeded. It was heard with profound attention, but without a single mark of approbation. Astonishment, dejection, and fear, overclouded the whole assembly. It was conjectured, that some powerful motive had induced the ministry to adopt such an alteration of measures. This idea was confirmed by the positive assertion of Mr. Fox, that a treaty had been signed at Paris between the colonies and France, by which she recognized their independence.

On the 13th of March, the French ambassador delivered a rescript to Lord Weymouth, in which he informed the court of London, that the king had signed a treaty of friendship and commerce with the United States of America. The knowledge of this transaction was communicated under the parade of cultivating the good understanding between France and Great Britain.

On the 21st of March, a public audience and reception were given to the American commissioners, Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee, by the French monarch. They were introduced by Mons. Vergennes, and received by the king with the usual formalities and ceremonies. The striking acknowledgment of the plenipotentiaries from the United States mortified the ministry and crown of Great Britain, and may be pronounced the political phenomenon of Europe. The day before it was exhibited, the French ambassador, in consequence of orders to quit London set out for Paris.

From this time, the courts of London and Versailles were busied in fitting out their fleets, which met each other in the month of July. The English fleet was commanded by the admirals Keppel, Palliser, and Harland. But, as the action of that day is amply related in our History of England, we shall not introduce in these annals of America, an account of so foul a tarnish to the British flag.

In the beginning of June, the Trident British man of war arrived in the Delaware, with the Earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Gov. Johnstone, three of the commissioners for restoring peace between Great Britain and America.

On the 18th of June, at three o'clock in the morning, the British evacuated Philadelphia, Mr. Eden having brought with him secret instructions from England for that purpose. They proceeded to Gloucester Point, three miles down the river, and before ten the whole had passed in safety cross the Delaware into New Jersey.

When intelligence of Sir Henry Clinton's having evacuated Philadelphia reached the American head-quarters, Gen. Washington took his measures accordingly. Several skirmishes happened between the Americans and the regulars with various success, till on the 30th of June the royal army arrived in the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook. During the course of the march from Philadelphia, the royal army was much reduced, upwards of 800 having deserted, a great number of whom were Hessians.

On the 5th of July, the army passed over a bridge of boats cross narrow channel to Sandy Hook, and were afterwards carried up to New York. On the 7th, Lord Howe received advice that the squadron from Toulon was arrived at Virginia. Count d'Estaing anchored on the 8th at night at the entrance of the Delaware. The next morning, he weighed and sailed towards the Hook, and on the evening of the 11th anchored without it. Had not bad weather and unexpected impediments prevented, the count must have surprized Howe's fleet in the Delaware, as the latter would not have had time to escape after being apprised of his danger. The



destruction of the fleet must have been the consequence of such a surprisal, and that must have occasioned the inevitable loss of the royal army, which would have been so enclosed by the French squadron on the one side, and the American forces on the other, that the Saratoga catastrophe must have been repeated. Lord Howe's fleet consisted only of six sixty-four gun-ships, three of fifty, and two of forty, with some frigates and sloops. Count d'Estaing had twelve ships of the line, some of which were of great force and weight.

On the 22d of July, the count sailed from Sandy Hook, when about twenty sail of vessels bound to New York fell into his possession. They were chiefly prizes taken from the Americans; but, had he stayed a few days longer, Admiral Byron's fleet must have fallen a defenceless prey into their hands. That squadron had met with unusual bad weather, and being separated in different storms, and lingering through a tedious passage, arrived scattered, broken, sickly, dismasted, or otherwise damaged in various degrees of distress, upon different and remote parts of the American coast. Between the departure of d'Estaing and the 30th of July, the *Renown* of 50 guns from the West Indies, the *Raisable* and *Centurion* of 64, and the *Cornwall* of 74 guns, all arrived singly at Sandy Hook. By d'Estaing's speedy departure a number of provision ships from Cork escaped also, together with their convoy. They went up the Delaware within fifty miles of Philadelphia after Lord Howe had quitted the river, not having obtained any information of what had happened. The British ministry had neglected countermanding their destination, though orders for the evacuation of Philadelphia had been sent off so early, as to have admitted of their receiving fresh instructions where to have steered before sailing. Great rejoicings were made at New York upon their safe arrival, especially as provisions were much wanted both by the fleet and army.

Let us now quit the military operations for the present, and take a view of the pending negociations. Gov. Johnstone, meaning to avail himself of former connections, endeavoured to commence or renew a private correspondence with several members of congress, and other persons of consideration. In his letters to them he used a freedom with the authority under which he acted, not customary with those entrusted with delegated power, and afforded such a degree of approbation to the Americans in the past resistance they had made, as is seldom granted by negociators to their opponents. In a letter to Joseph Reed, Esq. of April the 11th, he said, "The man, who can be instrumental in bringing us all to act once more in harmony, and to unite together the various powers which this contest has brought forth, will deserve more from the king and people, from patriotism, humanity, and all the tender ties that are affected by the quarrel and reconciliation, than ever was yet bestowed on human kind."

On the 16th of June, he wrote to Robert Morris, Esq. "I believe the men, who have conducted the affairs of America, incapable of being influenced by improper motives; but in all such



transactions there is risk, and I think that whoever ventures should be secured ; at the same time that honour and emolument should naturally follow the fortune of those, who have steered the vessel in the storm, and brought her safely to port. I think Washington and the president have a right to every favour that a grateful nation can bestow, if they could once more unite our interest, and spare the miseries and devastation of war."

On Sunday the 21st of June, Mr. Reed received a written message from Mrs. Ferguson, expressing a desire to see him on business, which could not be committed to writing. On his attending in the evening, agreeable to her appointment, after some previous conversation, she enlarged upon the great talents and amiable qualities of Gov. Johnstone, and added, that in several conversations with her, he had expressed the most favourable sentiments of Mr. Reed ; that it was particularly wished to engage his interest to promote the object of the British commissioners, viz a reunion with the two countries, if consistent with his principles and judgment ; and in such case it could not be deemed unbecoming or improper in the British government to take a favourable notice of such conduct ; and that, in this instance, Mr. Reed might have ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office in the colonies in his majesty's gift.

Mr. Reed, finding an answer was expected, replied, " I am not worth purchasing ; but, such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it." However right the principles might be, on which this insinuating scheme of conciliation was adopted, its effect were inimical.

On the 9th of July, congress ordered, " That all letters received by members of congress from any of the British commissioners, or their agents, or from any subject of the king of Great Britain, of a public nature, be laid before congress." The preceding letters being communicated, and Mr. Reed making a declaration of what had passed within his knowledge, congress resolved, " That the same cannot be considered but as direct attempts to corrupt and bribe the congress ; that as congress feel, so they ought to demonstrate, the highest and most pointed indignation against such daring and atrocious attempts to corrupt their integrity ; and that it is incompatible with the honour of congress to hold any manner of correspondence or intercourse with the said George Johnstone, Esq. especially to negotiate with him upon affairs, in which the cause of liberty is concerned."

The proceedings in this business were expressed in the form of a declaration, a copy of which was ordered to be signed by the president, and sent by a flag to the commissioners at New York.

These proceedings produced a very angry and violent declaration from Gov. Johnstone, in which the immediate operations of passion and disappointment were too conspicuous. The language of his publication but poorly agreed with the high and flattering compliments he had so lately lavished on the Americans, in those very letters, which were the subject of the present contest. It

was dated the 26th of August, and transmitted to congress; together with a declaration of the same date from Lord Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and Mr. Eden, which went to a solemn and total disavowal, so far as related to the present subject, of their having had any knowledge, directly or indirectly, of those matters specified by congress.

Thus were all hopes of further negotiation with congress at an end. Had Lord North, and the rest of the ministry then in being, adopting these corrupting measures in the more early part of the American disputes, it is possible they might have succeeded; but to attempt it at a time, when the spirits of the Americans were raised to the highest pitch by their new alliance with France, was surely little short of folly and madness.

On the 6th of August, the Hon. Sieur Gerard was introduced to the congress, in quality of minister plenipotentiary, who produced a letter from his master the king of France to *his very dear great friends and allies*; and the compliments Mons. Gerard received on this occasion were very different from those sentiments the Americans lately entertained of their now faithful allies.

On the 14th of September, congress proceeded to the election of a minister plenipotentiary to the court of France; when Dr. Benjamin Franklin was elected by ballot. His instructions were dated the 26th of October, and by them he was directed to obtain, if possible, the French king's consent to expunge two of the articles in the treaty of commerce. The doctor was to inculcate the certainty of ruining the British fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, and consequently the British marine, by reducing Halifax and Quebec.

#### MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

- 1777 *Count Donop repulsed in the attack upon Red Bank.  
Mud Island reduced.  
Congress receive the treaties concluded between France and the United States.*
- 1778 *The Randolph American frigate blown up.  
Sir Henry Clinton succeeds Gen. Howe in America.  
The treaties between France and the United States signed.  
Lord North's conciliatory propositions.  
Mess. Franklin, Deane, and Lee, have a public audience at the French court.  
The British army evacuates Philadelphia.  
Skirmishes between the English and Americans.  
The British forces arrive at Sandy Hook.  
Governor Johnstone attempts to corrupt certain Members of the congress.  
Dr. Franklin sent as Minister to the court of France.*

## CHAP. VIII.

THE campaign in the northern states having produced nothing advantageous to the British, and the winter being the proper season for southern expeditions, Sir Henry Clinton concluded upon turning his arms against Georgia. He might propose to himself the reduction of all the southern states, and he strongly inclined to it, by reason that these states produced the most valuable articles of commerce for the European market, and carried on a considerable export trade, which appeared no otherwise affected by the war, than as it suffered from the British cruisers. The rice was devoted to the service of its enemies, while it was wanted for the support of the royal fleet and army in America. A plan of operations was concerted with Gen. Prevost, who commanded in East Florida; and it was intended, that Georgia should be invaded both on the north and south sides at the same time.

This expedition was committed to Col. Campbell, and the forces appointed to act under him amounted to full 2500, which sailed from Sandy Hook, on the 27th of November, being escorted by a small squadron under commodore Hyde Parker. The fleet arrived at the Isle of Tibee, near the mouth of the Savannah, and on the 29th of December, the troops effected a landing. They were no sooner landed, than they were led to attack the fort, which the British persisted in with so much spirit and rapidity, that the Americans retreated with precipitation and disorder. No victory was ever more complete: thirty eight officers, and 415 non-commissioned and privates, 38 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, the fort with its ammunition and stores, the shipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions, with the capital of Georgia, were all, within the space of a few hours in the possession of the British troops.

The 30th of December was appointed as a thanksgiving-day, by order of congress. The affairs of the United States were at this period in a most distressed, deplorable, and ruinous condition. Idleness, dissipation, and extravagance, seemed to have engrossed the attention of the generality of the American sons of liberty; and self-interest, speculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches, appeared to have got the better of every other consideration, and almost of every order of men. Party disputes and personal quarrels were too much the general object, while the momentous concerns of the empire, a vast accumulated debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit, which naturally brings on the want of every thing, were but secondary considerations, and postponed by congress from time to time, as if their affairs were in the most flourishing situation. The paper currency in Philadelphia was daily sinking, and at length even so low as fifty per cent, yet an assembly, a concert, a dinner or supper, which cost two or three hundred pounds, did not only take men off from acting, but



even from thinking of what ought to have been nearest their hearts. Some of the most disinterested and patriotic Americans felt more distress from this review of things, than they had done at any other time, from the disappointments and losses in the course of the war.

In the mean time, Mons. Gerard, the French ambassador, manifested a desire, that the war might not be prolonged by too high and unreasonable demands, and that the United States would reduce their ultimatum as low as possible. He strongly recommended moderation, as the fate of war was uncertain ; and he hinted, that a decisive naval engagement, in favour of the British, might give a great turn to their affairs.

The South-Carolina delegates, rather with a view to conquest, than from any special apprehension of danger to their own or neighbouring states from the troops under Gen. Clinton, requested the Congress to appoint Gen. Lincoln, on whose character they justly reposed great confidence, to the command of all the forces to the southward. Accordingly they made the appointment on the 25th of September, and ordered him immediately to repair to Charleston.

On the 2d of March, the American officer of the day reported, that reconnoitring parties of the enemy's horse and foot had been seen within their piquet the night preceding. Gen. Ashe, who had crossed the Savannah with about 1200 troops, besides 200 light horse, returned on the evening of the same day to his camp. In short, the conduct of gen. Ashe was so pusillanimous, that he made no preparations to impede the march of the British, and, soon after their appearance, he and his troops fled with precipitation, without firing a gun.

In the month of May, sir Henry Clinton dispatched sir George Collier and Gen Matthews, with about 2000 men, besides 500 marines, to make a descent upon Virginia. They sailed for Portsmouth in that province, and upon their arrival landed their troops at a distance, then marched, and took immediate possession of the town, which was defenceless. The remains of Norfolk, on the opposite side of the river, fell of course into their hands. On the approach of the fleet and army, the Americans burnt several vessels, others were saved and possessed by the British. The guards were pushed forward eighteen miles by night to Suffolk, where they arrived by day light, and proceeded to destroy a magazine of provisions, together with the vessels and naval stores found there. A similar destruction was carried on at other places in that quarter, nor were the frigates and armed vessels less active or successful in their service.

Within the fortnight that the fleet and army continued upon the coast, the loss of the Americans was prodigious. Above 130 vessels of all sorts, including some privateers and ships of force, were destroyed or taken by them ; seventeen prizes were brought away, besides 3000 hhds. of tobacco, which fell into their possession at Portsmouth. Except the house of a widow and the church, they

burnt every house in Suffolk, and all the principal houses of gentlemen in this route shared the same fate.

On the 30th of May, the troops were joined to others going up the North river to attack the posts of Stoney point and Verplank, where the Americans had begun to construct strong works, for keeping the lower communication open between the eastern and southern states. Gen. Vaughan landed with the greater part on the east-side, while the remainder, accompanied by Sir Henry Clinton, advanced further up, landed on the west side, and took possession of Stoney point without opposition. Directly opposite, the Americans had completely finished a strong fort, which was defended by four pieces of artillery, and a garrison of about seventy men. But it was commanded by Stoney point; to the summit of whose rocks cannon and mortars were dragged up during the night. By five in the morning, a battery was opened, which poured a storm of fire on the fort, while Vaughan with his division, making a long circuit by the sides of the hills, arrived, and closely invested it by land.—The garrison, finding themselves totally overpowered, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. By the loss of these posts, the Jersey people were obliged to make a circuit of about ninety miles under the mountains, to communicate with the states east of Hudson's river.

After the French had taken Grenada, and Count d'Estaing was lying with his fleet at Cape Francois, he received letters from Gov. Rutledge, Gen. Lincoln, the French consul at Charleston, and others, urging him to visit the American coast, and proposing an attack upon Savannah. The general engaged to join him with a thousand men certain, and promised that every exertion should be made to increase the number. The application coinciding with the king's instructions, to act in concert with the forces of the United States, whenever an occasion presented itself, he sailed for the American continent within a few days after it was received.

On the 1st of September, count d'Estaing arrived with a fleet of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. The appearance of the French fleet on the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia was so unexpected by the British, that the Experiment man of war, of fifty guns Sir James Wallace, commander, and three frigates were captured. No sooner was it known at Charleston, that the count was on the coast, than Lincoln marched with all expedition for Savannah, with the troops under his command; and orders were also given for the South Carolina and Georgia militia to rendezvous immediately near the same place. The British were equally diligent in preparing for their defence.

The French and Americans, after having spent some time in making regular approaches, at last determined to take the place by storm. Accordingly, the morning of the 9th of October was fixed for the attack, and neither the French nor the Americans had the least doubts of success.

Two feints were made with the country militia, and a real attack a little before day light, on the spring-hill battery, with three thou-

sand five hundred French troops, 600 continentals, and 350 of the Charleston militia, headed by count d'Estaing and Gen. Lincoln. They marched up to the lines with great boldness; but a heavy and well directed fire from the batteries, and a cross fire from the galleys, threw the front of the column into confusion. Two standards, however, one an American, were planted on the British redoubts. Count Pulaski, at the head of 200 horsemen, was in full gallop, riding into town between the redoubts, with an intention of charging in the rear, when he received a mortal wound. A general retreat of the assailants took place, after they had stood the enemy's fire for fifty five minutes. D'Estaing received two slight wounds; 637 of his troops, and 234 of the continentals, were killed or wounded. Of the 350 Charleston militia, who were in the hottest of the fire, only six were wounded, and a captain killed.— Gen. Prevost and Maj. Moncrieff deservedly acquired great reputation by their successful defence. There were not ten guns mounted on the lines when the enemy first appeared, and in a few days the number exceeded eighty. The garrison was between two and three thousand, including 150 militia. The damage it sustained was trifling, as the men fired under cover, and few of the assailants fired at all.

Let us now see what the northern army was doing. In the middle of Dec. a part of Gen. Washington's army was without bread; and for the rest he had not, either on the spot or within reach, a supply sufficient for four days. Both officers and men were almost perishing through want for a fortnight. The deficiency proceeded from the absolute emptiness of the American magazines in every place, and the total want of money and credit to replenish them. So that the general was obliged to call upon the magistrates of the Jersey State, to express his situation to them, and to declare in plain terms, that he and his army were reduced to the alternative of disbanding or catering for themselves, unless the inhabitants, would afford them aid. He allotted to each county a certain proportion of flour or grain, and a certain number of cattle to be delivered on certain days. To the honour of the magistrates, and the good dispositions of the people, be it added, that these requisitions were punctually complied with, and in many counties exceeded.

But to return to the southern armies. On the 20th of March, 1780, admiral Arbuthnot, with a small fleet, crossed the bar, in front of Rebellion road, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. The American fleet retreated to Charleston, and the crews and guns of all the vessels, except the Ranger, were put on shore to reinforce the batteries. Before the Americans had taken this step, they should have considered, whether the ships were able to defend the bar, and should have sent them off, when they found it impracticable.

On the 12th of April, the British opened their batteries against Charleston, and a constant fire was kept up between both parties until the 20th. On the 18th of April, Sir Henry Clinton received a reinforcement of 3000 men from New-York; and on the 12th of



May, Gen. Lincoln, after having made the most vigorous defence he was capable of, was obliged to capitulate. It was stipulated, that the continental troops and sailors should remain prisoners of war until exchanged, and be provided with good and wholesome provisions, in such quantities as were served out to the British troops. The militia were to return home as prisoners on parole, which, as long as they observed, was to secure them from being molested in their property by the British troops. The officers of the army and navy were to keep their swords, pistols, and baggage, which last was not to be searched; but their horses were not to go out of town, but might be disposed of by a person left for the purpose. The garrison, at an hour appointed, was to march out of the town to the ground between the works of the place and the canal, where they were to deposit their arms. The drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colours to be uncased. All civil officers and citizens, who had borne arms during the siege, were to be prisoners on parole; and with respect to their property in the city, they were to have the same terms as the militia; and all other persons in the town, not described in any article, were notwithstanding to be prisoners upon parole.

The capital having surrendered, the next object of the British was to secure the general submission of the inhabitants. With this view they posted garrisons in different parts of the country, and marched a large body of troops over the Santee, towards the extremity of the State, which borders on the most populous parts of North Carolina. This occasioned the retreat of some American parties, who had advanced into the upper part of South Carolina, in expectation of relieving Charleston. Among the corps which had come forward with that view, there was one consisting of about 300 continentals, the rear of the Virginia line, commanded by Col. Buford. Tarleton, with about 700 horse and foot, was sent in quest of this party. Having mounted his infantry, he marched 105 miles in fifteen hours, came up with them at the Waxhaws, and demanded their surrender on terms similar to those granted to the continentals at Charleston. While the flags were passing and repassing on this business, Tarleton kept his men in motion, and when the truce was ended, had nearly surrounded his adversaries. An action instantly ensued, when the continental party, having partaken of the general consternation occasioned by the British successes, made but a feeble resistance, and begged for quarter. A few, however, continued to fire. The British cavalry advanced, but were not opposed by the main body of the continentals, who conceived themselves precluded by their submission. The accidental firing of the few was an argument, however, for directing the British legion to charge those who had laid down their arms. In consequence of this order, the unresisting Americans, praying for quarter, were cut in pieces. By Tarleton's official account of this bloody scene, 113 were killed, 50 badly wounded, unable to travel, and left on parole, and 53 made prisoners, while they made such ineffectual opposition as only to kill seven

and wound twelve of the British. Lord Cornwallis bestowed on Tarleton the highest encomiums for this enterprize, and recommended him in a special manner to royal favour and patronage.

The expected succours at length arrived from France, on the evening of the 10th of July, at Rhode Island. The Chevalier de Ternay commanded the fleet, which consisted of two ships of 80 guns, one of 74, four of 64, a bomb vessel, and thirty-two transports. The land forces consisted of four old regiments, besides the legion de Lauzun, and a battalion of artillery, amounting to about 6000 men, under the command of Lieut. Gen. Count de Rochambeau.

About the time that Charleston surrendered, Sir Henry Clinton received intelligence, that a large number of forces and a French fleet, commanded by Mons. Ternay, might soon be expected on the American coast. This induced him to reembark for New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis with about 4000 men, which were deemed fully sufficient for his purposes.

On the 4th of September, was signed the plan of a treaty of commerce between the states of Holland and the United States of America. Mons. de Neufville, being properly authorized by the regency of Amsterdam, engaged, that as long as America should not act contrary to the interest of the states of Holland, the city of Amsterdam would never adopt any measure that might tend to oppose the interest of America; but would, on the contrary, use all its influence upon the states of the Seven United Provinces of Holland, to effect the desired connexion. This business was conducted by Mr. Adams, on the part of America.

Lord Cornwallis went on successfully in South Carolina. On the 16th of August he engaged the forces under Gen. Gates, and completely routed them after a long and obstinate contest. Gen. Gates was borne off the field by a torrent of dismayed militia. They constituted so great a part of his army, that when he saw them break and run with such precipitation, he lost every hope of victory; and his only care was, if possible, to rally a sufficient number to cover the retreat of the other troops. He retired with Gen. Caswell to Clermont, in hope of halting them in their late encampment; but the further they fled, the more they dispersed, and the generals giving up all as lost, retired with a few attendants to Charlotte.

The Americans lost eight field pieces, the whole of their artillery, with all their ammunition waggons, besides 150 others, and a considerable quantity of military stores, and the greatest part of their baggage. The numbers slain cannot be precisely ascertained, no returns of the militia ever being made after the action; but it is supposed, that the Americans lost about 700 on this occasion. Though Cornwallis's victory was complete, yet, from the account the British gave of the action, it may be inferred, that it was dearly bought, upwards of 500 of their own troops being killed or wounded.

A minute representation of the retreat of the Americans from Charlotte to Salisbury, would be the image of complicated wretch-

edness. Care, anxiety, pain, humiliation and dejection, poverty, hurry and confusion, promiscuously marked the shocking scene. Painful objects presented themselves to view; several men without an arm, some with but one, and many standing in need of the most kind and powerful assistance.

Lord Cornwallis, notwithstanding his victory, was restrained for some time from pursuing his conquests, by the loss he had sustained in the battle, the extreme heat of the weather, the sickness of the season, and the want of necessary supplies: he therefore remained at Camden.

In the month of September, a discovery of the utmost importance was made; which was a scheme for delivering West Point into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. Gen. Arnold, who had the command of that post, was brave but mercenary, fond of parade, and extremely desirous of acquiring money to defray the expenses of it. When he entered Philadelphia after the evacuation he made Gov. Penn's, the best house in it, his head quarters. This he furnished in a very costly manner, and lived in a style far beyond his income. He continued his extravagant course of living, was unsuccessful in trade and privateering, his funds were exhausted, and his creditors importunate, while his lust for high life was not in the least abated. He had exhibited heavy accounts and demands against the public; and the commissioners, upon examination, rejected about one half of the amount. He appealed to Congress, and a committee was appointed, who were of opinion, that the commissioners had allowed more than the general had a right to expect or demand. This provoked him to outrageous expressions and proceedings. Disgusted at the treatment he had met with, embarrassed in his circumstances, and having a growing expensive family, he turned his thoughts towards bettering his circumstances by new means. In 1779, a correspondence commenced between Gen. Arnold and Major Andre, adjutant-general to the British army, a rising young officer of great hope and merit.

For the speedy completion of the negotiation that was carrying on between Sir Henry and Gen. Arnold, the Vulture sloop of war was stationed in the North river, at such a distance from the American posts, as, without exciting suspicion, would serve for the necessary communication. Before this, a written correspondence, through other channels, had been maintained between Arnold and Andre at New York, under the names of Gustavus and Anderson.

On the 21st of September, the necessary arrangements being made, a boat was sent at night from the shore to the Vulture to fetch Major Andre, which brought him to the beach without the posts of either army, where he met Arnold. The major continued with him during the following day, and at night, the boatmen refusing to conduct him back to the Vulture, which had shifted her position, as she lay exposed to the fire of a cannon sent to annoy her, he was obliged to concert his escape by land. He quit-  
ted his uniform, which he had hitherto worn under his surtout,



for a common coat. He was furnished with a horse, and under the name of John Anderson, with a passport from Arnold, to go through the lines at White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, he being on public business.

He pursued his journey alone to New York, passed all the guards and posts on the road without suspicion, and was much elated. The next day he travelled without any alarm, and began to consider himself out of danger; but, unhappily for him, three of the New York militia were with others out on a scouting party between the out-posts of the two armies. One of them sprung from his covert, and seized Andre's horse by the bridle. The major, instead of instantly producing his pass, asked the man where he belonged to, who answered, "*To below.*" Andre, suspecting no deceit, said, "*So do I.*" Then declared himself a British officer, and pressed that he might not be detained, for that he was upon urgent business. Upon the other two coming up, and joining their comrade, he discovered his mistake. The confusion that followed was apparent, and they proceeded to search him till they found his papers. He offered the captors a considerable purse of gold, and a very valuable watch, to let him pass; but they nobly disdained the temptation, besides the fascinating offers of permanent provision, and even of future promotion, on condition of their conveying and accompanying him to New York. They conducted him to Lieut. Col. Jameson, the continental officer, who had the command of the scouting parties, amounting to 800 men, chiefly militia. Arnold's conduct with regard to this body of men, and in other respects, had excited such suspicions in the breast of the lieutenant-colonel, and the rest of the officers, that they had determined upon seizing the general at all events, had he come down and ordered them nearer the enemy. Jameson, notwithstanding his strong jealousy of Arnold, was in the issue the means of his escape.

Major Andre, in order to give Arnold time to escape, requested that a line might be sent to acquaint him with the detention of Anderson, the name Andre had assumed, which Jameson through an ill-judged delicacy granted. The papers which were found in the major's boots, were in Arnold's hand-writing, and contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnances and defences at West Point and its dependences, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, an estimate of the number of men that were ordinarily on duty to man them, and the copy of a state of matters that had been laid before a council of war by the commander in chief. These papers were enclosed in a packet to Gen. Washington, accompanied with a letter from the prisoner, avowing himself to be Major Andre, adjutant-general to the British army, relating the manner of his capture, and endeavouring to show, that he did not come under the description of a spy. These papers were forwarded by Jameson.

No sooner had Arnold received the major's letter, than he hastened on board the *Vulture*, which lay some miles below Stony

and Verplank's Points ; and Arnold had not been long gone, when Washington arrived at his quarters. Had the plot succeeded, the consequences must have been ruinous to the Americans. The forces under Arnold's command must have either laid down their arms, or have been cut to pieces. Their loss, and the immediate possession of West Point, and all its neighbouring dependences, must have exposed the remainder of Washington's army so to the joint exertion of the British forces, by land and water, that nothing but ruin could have been the result with respect to the Americans.

On the 29th of September, Gen. Washington appointed a board of fourteen general officers, with the assistance of the judge-advocate general, to examine Major Andre's case, and to determine in what light it ought to be considered. Andre disdaining all subterfuge and evasion, and studying only to place his character in so fair a light, as might prevent its being shaded by present circumstances, voluntarily confessed more than he was asked, and sought not to palliate any thing relating to himself, while he concealed, with the most guarded and scrupulous nicety, whatever might involve others. The board shewed him every possible mark of indulgence, and sufficiently witnessed how much they felt for his situation. However, public justice obliged them to declare, " that Major Andre ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy ; and that agreeable to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death."

Several letters passed between the Generals Clinton and Washington relative to this unhappy affair ; but nothing was capable of saving the unfortunate major. On the 2d of October, the tragedy was closed. The major was superior to the terrors of death ; but the disgraceful mode of dying, which the usage of war had annexed to his unhappy situation, was infinitely dreadful to him. He was desirous of being indulged with a professional death, and had accordingly written, the day before, a pathetic letter, fraught with all the feelings of a man of sentiment and honour, in which he requested of Gen. Washington, that he might not die on a gibbet. The general consulted his officers on the subject. Pity and esteem wrought so powerfully, that they were all for shooting him, till Greene insisted on it, that his crime was that of a common spy ; that the public good required his being hanged ; and that, were he shot, the generality would think there were favourable circumstances entitling him to notice and lenity. His observations convinced them, that there would be an impropriety in granting the major's request, while tenderness prevented its being divulged.

When Major Andre was led out to the place of execution, as he went along he bowed himself familiarly to all those with whom he had been acquainted in his confinement. A smile of complacency expressed the serene fortitude of his mind. Upon seeing the preparations at the fatal spot, he asked with some emotion, " Must I die in this manner ?" He was told it was unavoidable. He replied, " I am reconciled to my fate, but not to the mode." Soon after, recollecting himself, he added, " It will be but a momenta-

ry pang ;" and springing upon the cart, he performed the last offices to himself, with a composure that excited the admiration, and melted the hearts of all the spectators. Being told the final moment was at hand, and asked if he had any thing to say, he answered, " Nothing but to request you will witness to the world, that I die like a brave man." He died universally esteemed and regretted.

MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

- 1778 *The British operations against Georgia.*  
*The affairs of the United States in a deplorable condition.*  
*Gen. Lincoln sent to South Carolina.*
- 1779 *Gen. Ashe surprised and defeated.*  
*Sir Henry Clinton takes Stoney Point.*  
*Count d'Estaing sails from the West Indies for the American*  
*coasts.*  
*The French and Americans repulsed at Savannah.*  
*Washington's army in distress for want of bread.*  
*Charleston taken by the British forces.*
- 1780 *Tarleton defeats Col Buford.*  
*A French fleet with troops arrive at Newport.*  
*Treaty signed between Holland and America.*  
*Earl Cornwallis defeats Gen. Gates.*  
*Major Andre taken and executed as a spy.*  
*Gen. Arnold makes his escape on board the Vulture British*  
*sloop of war.*

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CHAP. IX:

SIR Henry Clinton, on the 15th of October, 1780, in obedience to the orders sent him, to prosecute the war with vigour in North Carolina and Virginia, dispatched Gen. Leslie from New York to the bay of Chesapeake, with near 3000 choice troops. He was to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis, who was expected to be far advanced towards, if not to have reached Virginia. In a few days, the fleet arrived in the bay, and the troops were landed in different parts of Virginia.

On the 20th of June, the French and Spanish fleets formed a junction in the West Indies. They amounted to 36 sail of the line, which, with their united land forces, formed such an apparent superiority, as nothing in those seas or islands seemed capable of resisting ; but the Spanish troops, being too much crowded on board their transports, together with the length of the voyage, the change of climate and diet, and other circumstances, a most mortal and contagious disorder was generated, which first infected their own



seamen, and at length spread, though not with so fatal an effect through the French fleet and land forces. Besides the great mortality on their passage, the Spaniards landed 1200 sick on their first arrival at Dominique, and a much greater number afterwards at Guadaloupe and Martinico. Thus the spirit of enterprize was damped, and some part of their strength diminished.

In the month of September, Mr. Laurens was taken on his way from congress to Holland, on the banks of Newfoundland. A packet of papers being thrown over board, and not sinking suddenly, was saved by the boldness and dexterity of an English sailor, and most of them were recovered from the effects of the water. On his arrival in England, he was committed, upon a charge of high treason, as a state prisoner to the Tower, under an order signed by the three secretaries of state. By the medium of his papers, administration came to the knowledge of the eventual treaty of amity and commerce between America and Holland.

In consequence of this discovery, strong remonstrances were made to the States General; but, as no satisfactory answer was returned, Sir Joseph Yorke received orders to withdraw from the Hague; and, on the 20th of December, general reprisals were issued against the ships, goods, and subjects, of the States General.

On the 12th of January, 1781, Gen. Greene's troops consisted of about 1110. The next day, Col. Lee's partizan legion arrived from the northward, consisting of about 100 horsemen, well mounted, and 120 infantry; and on the 13th the legion was detached on a secret expedition. They pushed on for Georgetown, where they surprised several officers, and took them prisoners. Major Irwin, and many more of the garrison, were killed; but the principal part fled to the fort, which Lee was not in a condition to besiege. While this enterprize was carrying on, the enemy aimed a blow at Morgan, who was advised by Greene not to risque too much.

Gen. Leslie, in compliance with his orders, left Virginia, and arrived at Charleston, and joined Lord Cornwallis, who wished to drive Gen. Morgan from his station, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him. The execution of this business was entrusted to Lieut. Col. Tarlton, who was detached with about 1100 men for that purpose. On the 17th of January, Tarlton came up with Morgan, when an action commenced, which terminated much to the disadvantage of Tarlton.

Tarlton was very much censured for his conduct in this battle, which he was supposed to have lost by his un-officer like impetuosity. Lord Cornwallis, with the expectations of regaining the prisoners, and demolishing Morgan's corps, instantly concluded on a pursuit, which Morgan was aware of, and took his measures accordingly.

On the 31st of January, Greene succeeded Morgan in the command of the southern army, when a kind of military race commenced between the pursuing British and the fleeing Americans; but Greene got off before Cornwallis could overtake him.

Lord Cornwallis, being afterwards convinced, from Greene's movements, that he intended to venture an engagement, on the 14th of May sent off his baggage under a proper escort, and the next morning at day break, marched with the remainder of his army, amounting to about 2400 men, chiefly troops grown veterans in victory, either to meet Greene on the way, or attack him in his encampment.

The battle took place near Guildford court-house; and, after a hard struggle for near two hours, the Americans retreated in good order to the Reedy Fork, and crossed the river, about three miles from the field of action. Greene lost his artillery, and two ammunition waggons, the greatest part of the horses being killed before the retreat began.

In the month of February, reprisals having been commenced against the Dutch, Rodney and Vaughan received instructions from Great Britain, to direct their views to the reduction of the Dutch Island of St. Eustatia. The British fleet and army, instantly appeared there, and surrounded it with a great force. Rodney and Vaughan sent a peremptory summons to the governor, to surrender the island and its dependences within an hour, accompanied with a threat, that if any resistance was made, he must abide the consequences. Mons. de Graaff, totally ignorant of the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, could scarcely believe the officer, who delivered the summons, to be serious. He returned for answer, that being utterly incapable of making any defence, he must of necessity surrender, only recommending the town and inhabitants to the clemency of the British commanders. The wealth of the place excited the astonishment of the conquerors, the whole island seeming to be one great magazine. All the storehouses were filled with various commodities, and the very beach was covered with hogsheads of sugar and tobacco. The value was estimated considerably above three millions sterling. But this was only a part; for above 150 vessels of all denominations, many of them richly laden were captured in the bay, exclusive of a Dutch frigate of 38 guns, and five smaller. The neighbouring small isles of St. Martin and Saba were reduced in the same manner.

Rodney being informed, that a fleet of about 30 large ships, all richly laden, with sugar and other West India commodities, had sailed from Eustatia for Holland just before his arrival, under convoy of a flag ship of 60 guns, he dispatched the *Monarch* and *Panther*, with the *Sybil* frigate, in pursuit of them. These soon overtook the convoy, when the Dutch admiral refusing to strike his colours, and all remonstrances proving ineffectual, a short engagement took place between his ship, the *Mars* and the *Monarch*. He died bravely in defence of his ship, when she instantly struck, and the whole convoy was taken.

The keeping of Dutch colours flying at Eustatia, rendered it for some time a decoy to French, Dutch, and American vessels, a

considerable number of which fell accordingly into the hands of the conquerors without trouble.

Preparations began to be made, on the 21st of June, for the army under Gen. Washington to take the field. The Americans marched towards White Plains, where they were joined by the French troops under Rochambeau.

Sir George Rodney, in consequence of information concerning the French fleet under the Count de Grasse, detached the Admirals Sir Samuel Hood and Drake, with seventeen sail of the line, to cruise off Fort Royal for the purpose of intercepting him. On the 28th of April, some of Sir Samuel's, neadmost ships returned hastily in sight, and with signals announced the appearance of a superior fleet, and a numerous convoy, to the windward of Point Salines. The admiral made a signal for a general chase to windward, and at night it was determined by the admirals to continue the line a-head so that getting as much as possible to windward, they might close in with Fort Royal at day-light, and cut off the enemy from the harbour.

In the morning the French appeared, their convoy keeping close in with the land, while Count de Grasse drew up his fleet in a line of battle for their protection. Admiral Hood used every manœuvre to bring him to action; but he being to windward, and so having the choice, preferred a long shot distance. A partial engagement ensued. The van and the nearest ships, in the centre of the British, were exposed to a long and heavy weight of fire, in their struggles to close the French, and get to the windward; but suffered principally in their masts, hulls, and rigging. The action lasted about three hours, when Admiral Hood perceiving, that not one shot in ten of the French reached, and that his attempts to gain the wind were fruitless, ceased firing, and the British fleet bore away for Antigua.

Let us now return to the transactions under Lord Cornwallis. One great object of the British force was the establishment of a strong post and place of arms, and such as might render them perfectly masters of Chesapeake-bay, and therefore they repaired to York Town and Gloucester.

The French and American armies continued their march from the northward, till they arrived at the head of Elk; and within an hour after, they received an express from Count de Grasse, with the joyful account of his arrival and situation. By the 15th of September, all the troops were arrived and landed at Williamsburgh, and preparations were made with all possible dispatch for putting the army in a situation to move down towards York Town.

On the 30th of September, Lord Cornwallis was closely invested in York Town. The trenches were opened by the combined armies on the 6th of October, at 600 yards distance from Cornwallis's works. On the 9th they opened their batteries, and continued firing all night without intermission. The next morning the French opened their batteries on the left, and a tremendous



roar of cannon and mortars was continued for six or eight hours without ceasing.

The French and Americans continued to carry on the siege with great success. On the 16th their several batteries were covered with near 100 pieces of heavy ordnance; while the British works were so destroyed, that they could scarcely show a single gun. Thus was Lord Cornwallis reduced to the necessity of preparing for a surrender, or of attempting an escape. He determined upon the latter. Boats were prepared under different pretences, for the reception of the troops by ten at night, in order to pass them over to Gloucester Point. The arrangements were made with the utmost secrecy. The intention was to abandon the baggage, and to leave a detachment behind to capitulate for the town's people, and for the sick and wounded, his lordship having already prepared a letter on the subject, to be delivered to Gen. Washington after his departure. The first embarkation had arrived at Gloucester Point, and the greater part of the troops were already landed, when the weather, which was before moderate and calm, instantly changed to a most violent storm of wind and rain. The boats with the remaining troops were all driven down the river, and the design of passing over was not only entirely frustrated, but the absence of the boats rendered it impossible to bring back the troops from Gloucester. Thus weakened and divided, the army was in no small danger. However, the boats returned, and the troops were brought back in the course of the forenoon with very little loss.

Things were now hastening to a period, which could be no longer protracted; for the British works were sinking under the weight of the French and American artillery. All hopes of relief from New York were over, and the strength and spirits of the royal army were broken down and exhausted by their constant and unremitting fatigue. Matters being in this situation, on the 17th of October, Lord Cornwallis sent out a flag with a letter to Gen. Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed for digesting the terms of capitulation. Commissioners were accordingly appointed; and on the side of the allies, were Visc. de Noailles, and Lieut. Col. Laurens, whose father was in close confinement in the Tower of London, while the son was drawing up articles, by which an English nobleman and a British army became prisoners.

On the 19th of October, the posts of York town and Gloucester were surrendered. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been denied to Gen. Lincoln, was now refused to Lord Cornwallis, and Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army at York town, precisely in the same way his own had been conducted about eighteen months before. The troops that surrendered prisoners exceeded 7000; but so great was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only 3800 capable of doing duty. The officers and soldiers retained their baggage and effects. Fifteen hundred seamen shared the

same fate as the garrison. The Guadaloupe frigate of 24 guns, and a number of transports, were surrendered to the conquerors. About twenty transports had been sunk or burnt during the siege. The land forces became prisoners to congress ; but the seamen and ships were assigned to the French admiral. The Americans obtained a fine train of artillery, consisting of 75 brass ordnance, and 69 iron cannon, howitzers, and mortars.

On the 24th of October, a fleet destined for the relief of Lord Cornwallis arrived off the Chesapeake ; but, on receiving the news of his surrender, they returned to New York. The fleet consisted of 25 ships of the line, two fifties, and eight frigates. When they appeared off the Chesapeake, the French made no manner of movement, though they had 36 ships of the line, being perhaps satisfied with their present success. Every argument and persuasion was used with the Count de Grasse to induce him to aid the combined army in an operation against Charleston ; but the advanced season, the orders of his court, and his own engagements to be punctual to a certain time fixed for his future operations, prevented his compliance. His instructions had fixed his departure to the 15th of October, and he had already exceeded that time. On the 27th, the troops under the Marquis St. Simon began to embark for the West Indies, and about the 5th of November, de Grasse sailed from the Chesapeake.

#### MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

1780 *Sir Henry Clinton sends 3000 troops to the bay of Chesapeake.*

*The French and Spanish fleet form a conjunction in the West Indies.*

*Mr. Laurens taken in his passage to Holland.*

*Sir Joseph Yorke leaves the Hague.*

1781 *Lieut. Col. Tarleton detached after Gen. Morgan by whom he is defeated.*

*Sir George Rodney and Gen. Vaughan take St. Eustatia, St. Martin, and Saba.*

*The French troops join the Americans under Washington.*

*Sir Samuel Hood and Count de Grasse engage.*

*Lord Cornwallis repairs to York town and Gloucester.*

*Is obliged to capitulate, and surrender York town and Gloucester.*

*De Grasse sails for the West Indies.*

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#### CHAP. X.

ON the 27th of November, the King of England went to the house of peers, and opened the sessions of parliament. Warm

debates took place, on account of the ruinous manner in which the American war was continued; but Lord North and his party, who thought they had not yet carried things far enough, maintained a considerable majority in the house of commons. Mr. Burke had made several motions, relative to the release of Mr. Laurens from the Tower. However, at length, Mr. Laurens was brought before Lord Mansfield, on the last day of the year, in consequence of an order from the secretary of state, and was discharged upon certain conditions.

The naval force of France and Spain in the West Indies, in the month of February, 1782, amounted to 60 ships of the line; and their land forces when joined would have formed a considerable army. Jamaica had no more than six incomplete battalions of regular troops and the militia of the island to defend it; and therefore, in case of an attack, must have been soon conquered. The arrival of Sir George Rodney with twelve sail of the line at Barbadoes, and his subsequent junction with Sir Samuel Hood's squadron, together with the arrival of three ships of the line from England a few days afterwards, perhaps providentially saved Jamaica from falling into the hands of the enemy. The English fleet at St. Lucia amounted to 36 ships of the line, and the force under de Grasse at Martinico to 34. The metal of the French is always heavier than that of the English in equal rates, so that in this point the French had the advantage.

The van of the British fleet was commanded by Sir Samuel Hood, the centre by Sir George Rodney, and the rear by Admiral Sir Francis Drake. The three divisions of the French fleet were under Count de Grasse, Mons. de Vaudreuil, and Mons. de Bogaïnville.

On the 8th of April, the French fleet began to turn out of Fort Royal harbour early in the morning, with a great convoy under their protection, all bound to the French or Spanish ports in Hispaniola. De Grasse, in order to avoid any encounter on his passage, meant to keep close in under the islands, till he had eluded the pursuit of the English. However, their departure from the bay was so speedily communicated by signals from the frigates, and the English fleet was in such excellent preparation, that all the ships were clear of Gross Islet Bay by noon, and pursued with the utmost expedition; so that the French saved only a few hours, by being masters of the time of departure. The English gained sight of them under Dominique at night, and afterwards regulated the pursuit by signals.

Early the next morning, Count de Grasse formed the line of battle, and thereby afforded an opportunity to his convoy for proceeding on their course, while he remained to abide the consequences. The van of the English fleet first closed with the French centre, while the English centre and rear were becalmed. The action commenced about nine o'clock on the ninth. The *Barfleur*, Sir Samuel's own ship, had at times seven and generally three ships firing upon her, and none of the division escaped encountering a disprop-



portionate force. The firm and effectual resistance, with which they supported all the efforts of the enemy's superiority, was to the highest degree glorious. At length, the leading ships of the centre were enabled to come up to their assistance. These were soon followed by Sir George Rodney in the *Formidable*, with his seconds, the *Namur* and the *Duke*, all of 90 guns : they made and supported a most tremendous fire. De Grasse now changed the nature of the action, and kept at such a distance during the remainder of the engagement, as might prevent any thing decisive happening. The rest of the English fleet coming up, de Grasse withdrew his ships from the action, and evaded all the efforts of the English commanders for its renewal. Two of the French ships were so damaged, that they were obliged to quit the fleet, and put into Guadaloupe. On the side of the English, the *Royal Oak* and the *Montague* suffered extremely ; but they were capable of being repaired at sea, so as not to be under the necessity of quitting the fleet.

On the 11th the French fleet weathered Guadaloupe, and gained such a distance, that the body of their fleet could only be descried from the mast-heads of the British centre, and all hopes of Sir George Rodney's coming up with them seemed to be at an end. In this critical situation, one of the French ships, which had suffered in the action, was perceived, about noon, to fall off considerably from the the rest of the fleet to leeward. This produced signals from the English admiral for a general chase, which was so vigorous, that the *Agamemnon*, and some others of the headmost of the English line, were coming up so fast with this ship, that she would assuredly have been cut off before evening, had not her signals and eminent danger induced de Grasse to bear down with his whole fleet to her assistance. This movement put it out of the power of the French to avoid fighting. The pursuing English fell back into their station, and a close line was formed. The French also prepared for battle with the greatest resolution, and the night passed in preparations on both sides.

About seven o'clock in the morning of the 12th of April, the battle commenced, and was continued with unremitting fury until near the same hour in the evening. As the English came up, they ranged slowly along the French line, and close under their lee. Being so near, every shot took effect, and the French ships being so full of men, the carnage in them was prodigious. The *Formidable*, Admiral Rodney's ship, fired near eighty broadsides, and it may be supposed the rest were not idle. The French stood and returned this dreadful fire with the utmost firmness, each side fighting, as if the honour and fate of their country were that day to be decided.

Sir George Rodney in the *Formidable*, with his seconds the *Namur* and the *Duke*, and immediately supported by the *Canada*, between twelve and one o'clock, bore directly and with full sail athwart the French line, and successfully broke through, about three ships short of the centre, where Count de Grasse commanded in the *Ville de Paris* of 110 guns. Being followed and support-

ed by the remainder of his division, and wearing round close upon the enemy, he effectually separated their line. This bold adventure proved decisive. The battle lasted till sun set, for the French fought with the greatest bravery.

The British fleet having now gained the wind of the French, their general confusion was completed. Hood's division had been long becalmed and kept out of action ; but his head ships and part of his centre, as far at least as the *Barfleur*, which he himself commanded, came up at this juncture, and contributed to render the victory more decisive. The *Cæsar*, *Glorieux*, and *Hector*, soon struck their colours, but not till after they had made the most noble defence.

Count de Grasse was nobly supported, even after the line was broken ; and the *Diadem*, a French 74, went down by a single broad-side, in a generous exertion to save him. The *Ville de Paris* was almost reduced to a wreck, but de Grasse still held out. At length, Hood in the *Barfleur* approached him just at sun-set, and poured in a most destructive fire. The *Ville de Paris* supported all these shocks for a quarter of an hour after, when she struck to Sir Samuel Hood. It was said, that, at the time she struck, there were but three men left alive and unhurt on the upper deck, and that the Count was one of them.

The *Cæsar* was unfortunately set on fire, and blew up in the night of the action. A lieutenant and fifty English seamen perished, with about 400 prisoners. The number of the French slain in this engagement, and that of the ninth, was computed at 3000, and near double that number wounded. The small superiority of British ships, in point of number, contributed nothing to the success of the day, as more of Hood's division than that difference amounted to, were prevented coming into action through the want of wind. The whole loss of the English, in killed and wounded in the two actions, was stated only at 1050, of which 253 were killed on the spot.

In the *Ville de Paris* were found thirty-six chests of money, destined to the pay and subsistence of the troops in the designed attack on Jamaica. Sir Samuel Hood being sent in pursuit of the scattered enemy, on the 19th he came up and took the *Jason* and *Caton*, of 64 guns each, and two frigates.

Thus the French lost eight ships of the line : six were in possession of the English, one had been sunk, and the *Cæsar* blew up after her capture. The English having joined off Cape Tiberoon, and the French having no force to the windward, Sir George Rodney proceeded with the disabled ships and prizes to Jamaica, as well for their repair, as the greater security of the island, should the combined fleet still venture upon the prosecution of their former design. Sir Samuel Hood was left with about 25 ships of the line, to keep the sea, and watch the motions of the enemy.

Let us now return to North America, where all parties seemed to be heartily tired of the war. On the 5th of May, Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York, and on the 7th he wrote to Gen. Wash-



ington, and sent him some public papers, that his excellency might learn from them, the disposition that prevailed in the government and people of Great-Britain, relative to the making of a peace with America.

The British administration having resolved upon abandoning all offensive operations in America, the scheme of evacuating all the weakest posts in the United States was adopted. Accordingly, on the 11th of July, Savannah was evacuated, and the Americans immediately took possession of it, the works and town being left perfect.

On the 14th of December, Gen. Leslie, who commanded at Charleston, completed the embarkation of his troops on his quitting that town. Gen. Wayne, with the legion and light infantry, had been before their works for several days, by order of Gen. Greene. It was hinted to him from Gen. Leslie, through a certain medium, that if they were permitted to embark without interruption, every care should be taken for the preservation of the town. Wayne was directed to accede to the proposal, the British also agreeing not to fire on the town after getting on board. The conditions being fully understood by both parties, Charleston was evacuated and possessed without the least confusion, the American advance following close on the British rear. The governor was conducted into his capital the same day, the civil police established the day following, and on the third the town was opened for business. On the 17th, the British crossed the bar, and went to sea.

Every thing now seemed to announce the approach of peace. The American commissioners expedited the negociation with the utmost assiduity, and on the 30th of November, provisional articles were agreed upon and signed, to take effect whenever terms of peace should be finally settled with the court of France. The business was finished so privately and unexpectedly that the ministers and ambassadors, as well as others in and about the court of Versailles, were surprised upon hearing the news.

We must not here avoid mentioning an unfortunate event, which happened at the close of the still more unfortunate American war. Ten men of war, including Count de Grasse's ships, with a large fleet of merchantmen from Jamaica, suffered exceedingly by a tremendous gale of wind off Newfoundland, on the 17th of September. The Ville de Paris and the Glorieux foundered, and only one man out of the complement of both ships escaped to tell the melancholy tale. The Hector also sunk; but being descried in time by a snow that made towards them, the crew were saved. The Ramilies went down, but her people were saved by the merchantmen in company. The Centaur was likewise lost, and all her company, except twelve, with the captain, who got into the only remaining boat. They traversed a space of near 800 miles in the Atlantic ocean, without compass or quadrant, and with a blanket for a sail. They had only two biscuits divided among them every twenty-four hours; and as much water during that space to every



man, as the neck of a wine bottle broken off would hold. At the expiration of sixteen days, when the last division of biscuit and water had been made, to their inexpressible joy, they discovered the Portuguese island of Fayal, where they safely arrived at night, and received every assistance their melancholy situation demanded.

On the 3d of September, 1783, the definitive treaties between Great-Britain, France, and Spain, were signed at Versailles by the Duke of Manchester, and the plenipotentiaries of the said Court. On the same day, the definitive treaty with Great-Britain and the United States of America was also signed at Paris, by David Hartley, Esq. the British plenipotentiary, and the plenipotentiaries of the said state.

By the articles of this treaty, his Britannic majesty acknowledged the independence of the United States of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. He also relinquished all claims to the government of them, and consented to treat with them as free and independent people. Their boundaries were also settled, and they were allowed the liberty of fishing and drying fish, as usual, on the banks of Newfoundland.

The particulars of the treaty between Great-Britain, France, and Spain will be found in our History of England, to which it more properly belongs.

Thus ended the unhappy American war, which added to the national debt of the mother country one hundred and twenty millions, besides the loss of many thousands of our bravest officers, soldiers, and seamen, to the eternal infamy and disgrace of those ministers, who advised and carried it on, contrary to the general voice of the people !

#### MEMORABLE EVENTS RECORDED IN THIS CHAPTER.

- 1781 *Mr. Laurens discharged from his confinement in the Tower of London.*
- 1782 *The fleets of Sir George Rodney and Count de Grasse meet in the West-Indies.*  
*They engage, and Count de Grasse is defeated and taken.*  
*Savannah evacuated by the British forces.*  
*And afterwards Charleston in South Carolina.*  
*Provisional articles of peace signed between the British and American commissioners.*
- 1783 *The definitive treaties signed between Great-Britain, France, Spain, and America.*

## JOSEPH AVERY

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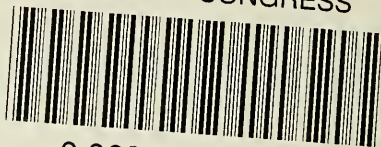
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